

# ***The Letter of Love and Concord***

**By**

**Zaroui Pogossian**

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## INTRODUCTION AND PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

This study is concerned with a text known as *Letter<sup>1</sup> of Love and Concord between the Great Emperor Constantine and the Holy Pope Sylvester and Trdat, King of the Armenians, and Holy Gregory, the Illuminator of the Armenians*. This *Letter* was composed in the Armenian Cilician milieu, sometime in the last decade of the twelfth century. It has traditionally been repudiated as a latinophile falsification, not necessarily worthy of being examined too thoroughly. Fortunately, many contemporary scholars have abandoned this attitude, especially taking into consideration the fact that forgeries tell us much about the mentality and ideology of the time period when they were created.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this study is to present a revised diplomatic edition of this text based on an initial full collation of 54 mss and a sample collation of 9 mss (of which 19 are maintained in the apparatus), as well as to provide a historical introduction, textual comments and to propose a likely date for its composition.

### PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

Before embarking on a historical, textual or philological analysis, it is necessary to present the text of the *Letter of Love and Concord*, dividing it into sections that will appear in the same order both in the Armenian text

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<sup>1</sup> All abbreviations for authors/titles of sources or literature are resolved in the Bibliography, where the reader can find all the full references. The Bibliography is divided according to: Sources (Armenian, Greek or Latin); Manuscript Catalogues; Dictionaries and Secondary Literature.

'Letter' is a verbatim translation of the Armenian *t'ult'* or *gir* and has been traditionally translated this way. A better word in this context would be a *pact* of love. I have, however, kept the traditional translation for the sake of continuity and to avoid future confusion which the difference in the title may cause. All references to mss will be given according to the sigla accepted by the Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes. Cfr Coulie 2002.

<sup>2</sup> The studies of Uluhogian 2003 and Shirinian 2003, for example, have emphasised this point.

and the English translation.<sup>3</sup> The division of the text is my interpolation into the text and is based on 'themes' as they appear in this text. At this point no comments will be provided.

The TD<sup>4</sup> is entitled: *Letter of Love and Concord between the Great Emperor Constantine and the Holy Pope Sylvester and Trdat, King of the Armenians, and Holy Gregory, the Illuminator of the Armenians.*

1. It starts with an official proclamation of Constantine, 'Great and August King of Kings' that this is his 'testament.' Then Pope Sylvester, who is told to have powers from East to West to bind and loose, on his part states that this is also his 'decretal.'
- 2-4. The story goes on, narrated by Constantine, about the visit of Trdat and Gregory to the holy places in the West, as well as to honour the 'splendidly crowned' Pope, the newly converted Emperor, and his family (his mother Helen and his children). Full of joy for such an event, Constantine and Sylvester go out to meet Trdat and Gregory with great preparations. Upon their meeting, they glorify Christ and proceed to the palace where they spend many days in bodily and spiritual feasting.
5. For the occasion, taxes are cancelled, prisoners are liberated and Gregory the Illuminator blesses the salt to be sent to the 'the sacrificial victims,' lest the holy sacrifice be performed in a pagan manner. Gregory's confession of faith is proclaimed in all the churches throughout the Empire.
6. When Trdat and Gregory prepare to leave, a great assembly is convened, attended by dignitaries both from Armenian (e.g. the seventy thousand that went with Trdat) and Roman sides. Trdat and Constantine sign an official pact of alliance, having mixed 'Christ's blood' in the ink, and solemnly take an oath to stay faithful to each other 'until the end of the world.'
7. Constantine issues an edict to some eastern provinces of the Empire, which he enumerates, proclaiming that he is assigning all these territories (mainly in the East, but also in Africa) to Trdat, who is to be second only to him and the head in his stead in these lands. The governors of these provinces are to provide military assistance to Trdat in his war against Šapuh (the Persian King of Kings) and are not to contradict the orders of the Armenian King in any way.

<sup>3</sup> There is no consistency in dividing the text into sections in the manuscript tradition. While some mss have rubricated texts, others do not. The division of the text into sections is mine. In doing so, I have followed the content of each section and tried to make the divisions as logical as possible without breaking the flow of the text.

<sup>4</sup> The Armenian title of the *Letter of Love and Concord* has traditionally been abbreviated as *T'ult' dašanc'* (lit. *letter of covenants/pacts*). In order to introduce some variation in terms and to avoid repetition, I will use interchangeably the *Letter of Love* and TD, the Armenian abbreviation of its title. All references will be given to corresponding sections and lines as they appear in this edition.

8. The coronation of Trdat by Constantine: the latter puts a crown with 'precious gems and purls' on Trdat's head, dresses him with sea purple and, moreover, gives him his father's 'priceless belt.'
9. This episode is followed by the enumeration of exaggeratedly lavish gifts that Constantine bestows upon Trdat. His wife 'Mak'sintēs' and his sister 'Kostasia,' in their turn prepare presents for the wife and sister of Trdat, as does his son 'Kostas' for the son of Trdat, Xosrov. Luxurious presents are given also to the princes that accompanied Trdat.
10. Constantine makes territorial donations to the Armenian king. Those include the city of Bethlehem, the First Armenia and Cappadocia, which, the text clarifies, were taken away from the Armenians by Caesar Pompey. The borders of Trdat's 'proper homeland' are defined: from Mount Argaeus to Mount Ararat, from the river Gayl to the river Tigris. The Emperor asks Trdat to leave 300 warriors behind, who are named *armēnk'* [Armenians], as body guards of the Emperor.
11. A prophecy is pronounced by Constantine about the fall of the 'House of Trdat' and the 'slavery' of the Armenians under the infidels. Their salvation will come from God and they will be succoured by the offspring of Constantine. This event will take place when the relics of the Suk'iaseank' martyrs, which Constantine himself had buried, will be re-discovered.
12. The Emperor recounts all the miracles of healing that St. Gregory performed while in Rome.
13. Moreover, Trdat fought and killed a dragon and a unicorn that had appeared on the Capitoline hill and who were devastating the surrounding area. Trdat gives half of the unicorn's horn as a talisman and anti-poison to Constantine, receiving in return, a part of the relic of the True Cross which Empress Helen had brought from Jerusalem.
- 14-15. Constantine tells how Trdat narrated the story of his conversion: the tortures of St. Gregory, the martyrdom of the St. Hrip'simeank' virgins, Trdat's transformation into a wild boar, his salvation through baptism by Gregory, and the evangelical activities of St. Nunē in Georgia.
- 16-17. Constantine describes his own conversion: his *Vision of the Cross* on 'the banks of the Danube' and how by using this sign he won a victory; his falling back into paganism because of pressures from his wife, his punishment through leprosy, his healing through baptism by St. Sylvester, his submission to the will of seven Patriarchs and saints whom he enumerates as St. Sylvester, St. Gregory, St. Anthony, St. Nicholas of Myra, St. Macarius of Jerusalem, St. James of Nisibis and St. Ephrem of Urhay (Edessa).
18. All churches or monasteries are declared exempt from taxes, and Armenian and Roman inhabitants are given various tax incentives, as opposed to the non-Christian subjects of the Empire. The taxes of some categories of the population, such as the infidels, owners of mines, and merchants are specified.
19. The author of the narration switches from Constantine to Pope Sylvester. The latter, inspired by the example of Constantine, decides to honour



- Gregory as well by ordaining him 'pope, patriarch and *hayrapet*', equal in dignity to the Sees of Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. Gregory and his successors are told to be autocephalous and to have the right to receive their ordination from their own bishops. Besides representing the Pope in the Asian lands and having a decisive voice when electing a patriarch for the other three oriental Sees—Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria—the Armenian Catholicos is to have jurisdiction over the Churches of Georgia and Albania.
20. A miracle of light appears upon Gregory's head during a Eucharistic celebration. Constantine falls at his feet and asks for the benediction of the world and of his Empire from the Illuminator.
  21. Upon such a great proof of sanctity, the pope is eager to increase Gregory's honours by giving him other precious gifts, such as parts of the relics of Sts. Paul and Peter and, in some mss, the left arm of Apostle Andrew, the Pope's own vestments which he wears during the ordination rites—the mitra, the ring, the staff, and the Episcopal *orarium* or *pallium*. The enumeration of presents goes on.
  22. Among territorial donations given to the Armenian Catholicos are certain holy places in Jerusalem, such as the Martyrion of St. James, a place (an altar) for the liturgy in the Church of the Resurrection (Anastasis) as well as a place on the Golgotha, on the upper part of the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre and a lantern that hangs on it.
  - 23–24. To confirm the authority of Gregory, Sylvester enumerates the various holy relics that are kept in Armenia. He repeats that Gregory has authority over Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, Albanians, Syrians and Persians.
  25. The closing paragraph states that this 'edict' was produced by the orders of Constantine and Sylvester, in Armenian and in Latin, each to be kept in respective royal chancelleries.

In order to propose some plausible hypothesis as to the purpose and time-frame of the composition of this text, it is necessary to examine the historical, religious and textual environment when it was most likely composed.

Chapter 1 will focus on the historical and religious situation in Armenian Cilicia in the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Chapter 2 will discuss the sources of TD: textual, oral, conceptual and historical, revealing some sources previously not mentioned by scholars, or indicating specific sections of those sources that have already been identified. Based on this analysis, as well as on the possible intentions for the creation of this false document, a plausible date for its composition will be proposed. Text-critical issues, the description of manuscripts and their relationships, as well as some reflections on the language and grammar of TD, are explained in Chapter 3. Then, a revised diplomatic edition of TD based on nineteen manuscripts is presented, followed

by an English translation. Further comments on the text, often cross-referenced to respective chapters, are provided in the footnotes of the English translation.



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN CILICIAN ARMENIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH AND BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

All scholars who have, in one way or another, dealt with the *Letter of Love and Concord* agree that it was created sometime during the Cilician period of Armenian history, that is, roughly, between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. In order to understand for what purpose such a document was forged in Cilician Armenia, it is imperative to have a clear idea of the country's political and religious milieu, especially the political/royal ideology developed by the ruling dynasty of the Rubenids, and the new currents of thought in contemporary ecclesiological circles.

#### 1.1. THE HISTORICAL SITUATION

The eleventh century witnessed a large emigration of Armenians westward. Throughout the tenth century but especially in the first half of the eleventh, Armenian territories were being slowly annexed to the Byzantine Empire and the raids of Turkish tribes arriving from the East, starting in the third decade of the eleventh century, were depriving the country of its previous economic stability and well-being.<sup>1</sup> As a result, the

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<sup>1</sup> Three factors played a decisive negative role in Armenia's loss of independence by its major ruling houses: internal disagreements and centrifugal tendencies of Armenian princely families, the appearance of various Turkish tribes in Asia Minor, with the eventual onslaught of the Seljuks, and the Byzantine policy of annexation of Armenian territories. Different scholars attribute different weight to each of these factors. Some of the important analyses of this historical period in Armenia are: Bartikian 1971; Dédéyan 1975; Der Nersessian 1973A; and Toumanoff 1967. The annexation of various Armenian territories by the Byzantine Empire was not necessarily condemned by all Armenians in the tenth century as it was occurring. Some viewed it as the triumphant advance of protectors of the true faith, as suggested in Thomson 1967. In her various studies, Arutjunova-Fidanjan has demonstrated that neither did tenth and early eleventh

emigration touched not only the upper classes of the society who would pursue a military or bureaucratic career at the Byzantine court, but also the mass of peasants who followed their noble lords. Many of the Armenian princes established semi-independent principalities in Cappadocia and, as the Seljuks pushed further West, in Cilicia. In fact, all of these territories had had Armenian populations long before the eleventh century, but their presence was never as compact as was the case after their mass immigration.<sup>2</sup> These Armenian principalities were theoretically vassals of the Byzantine Empire but held a large autonomy in internal affairs. From among them two major families emerged in the twelfth century: the Rubenids and the Het'umids. The former was more inclined towards gaining an independent status from the Byzantine court and uniting various Armenian princes of Cilicia under its hegemony. This policy clashed with the interests of the rival Het'umid family which continuously maintained a philo-Byzantine attitude.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the Rubenids also attempted to give ideological legitimacy to their attempts at strengthening their rule over all Armenians of Cilicia. The twelfth century historian Matt'ēos Urhayec'i (Matthew of Edessa) presents Prince T'oros Rubenid (the grandson of the founder of the Rubenid dynasty—Ruben) as the avenger for the blood of the last Armenian Bagratid king Gagik II. At an opportune moment, according to the historian in 1111, T'oros occupied the castle of the Mandalē brothers—the alleged murderers of Gagik but also relatives of his own wife—and ordered them to bring the

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century historians object to the Byzantine Empire's eastward advance. They expressed a benevolent attitude towards Byzantium's political but not religious hegemony. These attitudes changed to extremely negative ones in the eleventh century when Armenia, left without its leading princely houses which traditionally held their own armed forces and provided military defense for their territories, became devastated by the advance of the Seljuk forces. Contemporary historians rightly or wrongly blamed Byzantium for the ensuing catastrophic events, such as the painful defeat at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071/2. Cfr Arutjunova-Fidanjan 1967. For the most recent analysis on this topic, cfr Dédéyan 2003.

<sup>2</sup> For geographical characteristics and an overview of this once Roman, then Byzantine province of Cilicia, as well as the Armenian presence here throughout centuries, cfr Alishan 1899; Mikayelyan 1952, 5–9, 12–24 for a geographical description and 25–53 for a brief history of Cilicia before the formation of Armenian Principalities on its territory.

<sup>3</sup> There is vast literature on Cilician Armenia. I will refrain from overburdening this footnote and mention only some of the most important works. Other references can be found elsewhere in the footnotes, wherever appropriate, and in the bibliography. Some of the most important studies (chronologically) are as follows: Tournèise 1910, 168–307 for the period of our interest; Mikayelyan 1952; Der Nersessian 1973*B*; Sukiasyan 1969; Boase 1978, 1–33; Hamilton 1978; Halfter 1996; and Dédéyan 2003.

sword and the vestments of King Gagik to him.<sup>4</sup> When these were duly brought forth T'oros and his entire army 'cried bitterly' at the sight of the last Armenian king's royal clothes. T'oros proceeded to loot the treasures of the castle, while one of the Mandalē sons committed suicide by leaping from a 'high pitched rock'. The dialogue between the other Mandalē brother and T'oros, as recounted by Urhayec'i, embodies the deeply rooted feelings of resentment among many Armenians against Byzantines, whose policy of expansion in the tenth century was believed by eleventh century historians to have weakened the military might of Armenian princes and led the way to the fall of Armenia to Seljuk forces: "You are an Armenian and we are Roman princes. How will you respond to the Roman Emperor for judging Romans?' Then T'oros was outraged and the colour of his face changed. Picking up an iron bar with a crook he violently attacked him and said, 'And who were you that killed a courageous man and an anointed King of the Armenians? And how will you respond to the Armenian nation?'"<sup>5</sup> T'oros killed the man and glorified the Lord for being able 'to take revenge for the blood of Gagik, King of the Armenians'.<sup>6</sup>

Several details in this story reported by Matt'ēos Urhayec'i reveal the contemporary Armenian attitudes towards Byzantines, perhaps not shared by all, but certainly by many. Moreover, the episode brings forth aspects of royal ideology that are akin to concepts expressed in the *Letter of Love*, as shall be seen in Chapter 2. First, one cannot but observe the thoroughly embittered feelings of Armenians against Byzantines expressed in T'oros' outrage at their having killed an 'anointed king of Armenians'. The specific mention of 'anointment' echoes the aura of piety or even sacrality that this rite conferred upon a king.<sup>7</sup> T'oros and his soldiers probably expressed the sentiments of many Armenians when they 'cried over' the vestments of King Gagik as if crying over precious relics. Moreover, to strengthen the link between this last Armenian king, Gagik II, and the Rubenids, Matthew of Edessa mentions twice in his *Chronography* that the founder of the Rubenid dynasty was a soldier in

<sup>4</sup> ME 1991, 346–350. All translations from Armenian, Greek or Latin sources are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>5</sup> ME 1991, 350.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> The anointment of a king may not have been initially part of the Bagratid coronation rite, but became increasingly important since the tenth century. Cfr Jones 2001/2, 341–398, esp. 360–366.

Gagik's army, while in one occasion his text, at least in some manuscripts, reads that Ruben was 'one of the sons' of Gagik.<sup>8</sup> However, more than sixty years ago the armenologist Adontz demonstrated that historically there is no hard proof for the Bagratid origin of the Rubenids and that the mention of Ruben as 'one of the sons' of Gagik is almost certainly a scribal error.<sup>9</sup> More recently it has been suggested that the homeland of the Rubenids was probably South-Western Armenia.<sup>10</sup> Yet, the connection with the Bagratids survived in Armenian historical sources, such as the work of Samuël Anec'i, and was repeated with some variations by others as well, such as Vahram Rabun, Het'um Patmič' and a short anonymous history of the Rubenids, but, significantly, not by Smbat Sparapet. The lack of this latter witness is what makes the Bagratid origin of the Rubenids even more suspect.<sup>11</sup> The fact that T'oros was hailed by his contemporaries as the avenger of Gagik's blood could legitimate his rule as the latter's spiritual heir. His brother Prince Levon I may have gone even further in trying to fashion himself as a rightful successor of the Armenian royal dynasty, and the Aršakunis at that. Analyzing a panegyric composed by Michael Italicos for Emperor John Comnenus, Bartikian has argued that Levon I had declared himself king—perhaps calling himself *basileus*—and being of Aršakuni descent. He tied a diadem around his head and wore purple shoes, for which he was bitterly mocked by the Byzantine poet.<sup>12</sup> Such audacity was symbolically highly charged and underlined the Armenian prince's determination to break free of Constantinopolitan subordination. In response, John Comnenus organised a military expedition to re-conquer Cilicia and Syria in 1137–1138 in which he was largely successful against all potential rivals, such as Armenians, Latins or Muslims.<sup>13</sup> Levon I was terribly punished for his royal pretensions: he was taken prisoner to Constantinople with his wife

<sup>8</sup> ME 1991, 350.

<sup>9</sup> Adontz 1935B, 185–203, esp. 186–193.

<sup>10</sup> Dédéyan 2003, 366–370.

<sup>11</sup> Adontz 1935B, 185–203, esp. 186–193.

<sup>12</sup> Evidence for this is found in a panegyric composed by Michael Italicos and dedicated to Emperor John Comnenus and his conquests in Cilicia and Syria. Bartikian 1984 points out that according to the panegyric Levon used a *diadem*, i.e. a band tied around one's head and not a crown—*stemma*—in which case he would symbolically equate himself to an emperor, too far-fetched a pretension that Levon was intelligent enough to avoid, and wore purple shoes. Moreover, he was mocked as being βασιλίσκος for having pretended to be a βασιλεύς.

<sup>13</sup> Angold 1984, 156–157.

and two of his five sons—Ruben and T'oros.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently, Ruben was killed and Levon I was poisoned and died in exile, but the other son—T'oros—managed to escape around 1145, return to Cilicia and slowly gain control of his father's lost territories. In these re-conquests he was aided by the political situation in the Levant, since Byzantium was pre-occupied with the Second Crusade passing through its territory, while Edessa had fallen to the forces of Zengi in 1144 and this Latin principality could not be actively involved in local power politics.<sup>15</sup> By around 1152 T'oros Rubenid had conquered most of the Cilician territory, including the cities of Tarsus, Adana, Anazarbus, Sis and Mamistra. However, by this date Byzantium had not only survived the passage of the Second Crusade through its territory, but Manuel Comnenus felt that his Empire weathered the situation with a reinforced sense of superiority over western armies and rulers.<sup>16</sup> As a result, Byzantine armies, led by Andronicus Comnenus, hastened to retaliate and soon besieged Mamistra. In this operation members of other Armenian princely houses—particularly those of the Het'umids—fought against T'oros in the Byzantine army.<sup>17</sup> A more serious military expedition to Cilicia was led by Manuel Comnenus himself in 1158/59, when the Emperor intended not only to curb T'oros' independence but also to punish him for the brutal plunder of Cyprus, in which the Armenian Prince had participated along with Reginald of Antioch. By humbly agreeing to be a loyal vassal of the Emperor, as well as through astute diplomatic moves, T'oros was able to make peace with Manuel and to gain his personal freedom.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, his efforts to achieve full independence from the Byzantine court never ceased, and were to be continued by his brother Mleh whose overtly

<sup>14</sup> Grigor Erec' in ME 1991, 406; Boase 1978, 11, where this author says that the Byzantine re-conquest of Cilicia was completed in 1137/8. For genealogical tables of Cilician rulers Rüd't-Collenberg 1963, Table I (Rup.) for the Rubenids.

<sup>15</sup> Mikayelyan 1952, 110–111; Der Nersessian 1973B, 335–336; for the appraisal of the Byzantine political situation in this period and fears about a possible attack on Constantinople by Crusaders cfr Angold 1984, 162–164.

<sup>16</sup> Angold 1984, 167; but the failure of the Second Crusade strengthened the feelings of resentment against the Byzantine Empire among westerners. Manuel Comnenus was blamed for having brought on this disaster by some contemporary historians and Byzantines were described as treacherous and hypocritical, cfr Ibid, 169 and Laiou 2005, esp. 28–33.

<sup>17</sup> ME 1991, 444; Der Nersessian 1973B, 336; Boase 1978, 12.

<sup>18</sup> Der Nersessian, *History*, 337 gives the date 1159; whereas Mikayelyan 1952, 115–122, indicates that Manuel's aggressive moves towards Cilicia had started already in 1158 to culminate in 1159; Boase 1978, 13 proposes 1158; Cfr also Angold 1984, 185.



pro-Moslem foreign policy and alliance with Nur ad-Din raised popular disapproval.<sup>19</sup> After Mleh's death in 1175 his nephew Ruben ruled Cilicia. Ruben and his brother Levon, (the future king),<sup>20</sup> were sons of Step'anē (the third brother of T'oros and Mleh) who was found dead in 1164 after a feast organised by the Byzantine governor of Tarsus, Andronicus Eupobrenus.<sup>21</sup> He was reputedly boiled alive, and this event kept anti-Byzantine passions high.<sup>22</sup> While Ruben continued to strive for independence from Byzantium, it was his brother Levon, who took the rule of Cilicia in 1187, who would build on his predecessors' achievements and be destined to be crowned as King of the Armenians in 1198. The author of the *Letter of Love* had Levon in mind when describing King Trdat, as shall be discussed in Chapter 2. It is therefore appropriate to analyse the political circumstances of Levon's reign, first as prince, later as king and some aspects of royal ideology that will be found also in TD.

Soon after Levon took control of Cilicia in 1187 it was to become the only Christian state large enough in the Levant to be in a position to lend military support to Latin rulers in the East or to an imminent western campaign in the Holy Land. Only five months after his accession as the leading Rubenid Prince, Jerusalem fell to Salah al-Din<sup>23</sup> and the Latin states in the Eastern Mediterranean were drastically weakened. The Byzantine Empire did not fare well at this time either. During his short reign, the newly ascended Isaac II Angelos (1187–1190) was too thoroughly entangled with problems of affirming his dynasty on the imperial throne and putting down serious rebellions in the Balkans, or

<sup>19</sup> Because of this policy Mleh is besmirched by Armenian historians, both medieval and some modern. Cfr Alishan 1888, 52–56, for an extremely unfavorable appraisal of Mleh's pro-Muslim policy. For a more balanced approach to the issue, including a critical analysis of relevant sources, cfr Mikayelyan 1952, 126–130; as well as Ter-Levondyan 1994, 58–72; Mutafian 1988, 400–402.

<sup>20</sup> In documents that have come down to us, Levon signed his name often in Greek as Leo followed by his name and title in Armenian: Լևոն թագաւոր Հայոց—Lewon King of the Armenians. Cfr Langlois 1863, 17–18. On the coins issued during his reign, there does not seem to have been a uniformity in spelling, thus we find versions as ԼԵՒՈՆ, ԼԵՒՆ, ԼԵՈՆ—Lewon, Lewn, Leon. Cfr Bedoukian 1962, 80. I will consistently use the transcription Levon commonly used in scholarly literature. He was the second prince of the Rubenid house with this name, thus Prince Levon II Rubenid. However, he was the first king of Cilician Armenia and it is more appropriate to call him King Levon I. Nevertheless, in secondary literature there is no consistency; Levon appears both as King Levon I or King Levon II. On this issue, cfr Schlumberger 1895.

<sup>21</sup> Der Nersessian, 1973B, 337; Mikayelyan 1952, 125.

<sup>22</sup> Boase 1978, 14.

<sup>23</sup> Alishan 1888, 93 for the dating.

Turcoman raids and centrifugal tendencies in Asia Minor.<sup>24</sup> The experience of the First and Second Crusades had made Byzantines increasingly weary of another similar venture, with armies or disorganised, raucous crowds crossing their territory. Besides, the constant fear that a Crusade could eventually turn against Constantinople was also in the back of their minds.<sup>25</sup> Isaac's handling of the Third Crusade, especially the disastrous passage of Frederick Barbarossa's armies through the Balkans—either because Isaac was in no effective control of these territories or because he was far from being a competent diplomat—only exasperated antagonistic feelings between Latins and Byzantines.<sup>26</sup>

When Levon took control of the Rubenid principality his main concerns were the greatest Islamic ruler of the Near East—Salah al-Din—and various Turcoman tribes that periodically plundered the territory of Cilicia.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, Levon was quite aware that the fall of Jerusalem to Salah al-Din in 1187 strengthened his political position as a Christian state in the Levant, and receiving a crown from a Western Emperor would provide him with a formidable license in becoming an ever more important actor in the politics of the Latin states in the East.<sup>28</sup> Given these circumstances and keeping with a long tradition of independent-mindedness in his family, Levon sought to elevate his status to that of an independent king, that is, receiving a *de jure* recognition of his Principality as a Kingdom. He turned his sights to the West in an attempt at assuring his coronation by the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Isaac II had to put down a second rebellion by his trusted general Alexius Branas exactly in 1187. The rebellion of Balkan chieftains Peter and Asen also occurred at this time and spread to the whole peninsula, eventually playing a significant role in Isaac's downfall in 1190. Angold 1984, 272–275.

<sup>25</sup> For a detailed overview of sources which indicate the ever-present possibility of a Crusader attack on Constantinople cfr Laiou 2005.

<sup>26</sup> For the Third Crusade, cfr Johnson, 1962, esp. 94–109 on Barbarossa's passage through the Balkans. Johnson and Laiou argue that Barbarossa had no real interest in attacking Constantinople and Charles Brand has argued that even Henry VI, who seemed to pursue an aggressive policy against Byzantium, 'was preparing for conquest of the Byzantine Empire [only] in the distant future.' Brand 1968, 194. Yet Byzantine fears of a military expedition against their state were real and the relationship between the Eastern and Western empires remained tense throughout the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries.

<sup>27</sup> Halfter 1996, 176; Mikayelyan 1952, 142–143.

<sup>28</sup> Halfter 1996, 176–177 for some further considerations on this aspect, including western attitudes to Armenians as 'brave soldiers.'

<sup>29</sup> Halfter 1996, 200, demonstrates convincingly that originally Levon's intention was to receive a crown only from the Emperor and not the Pope. It is not altogether clear why he later chose to send an embassy with a similar request to Pope Celestine III as well. It is

Pope Clement III, on the other hand, viewed Levon as a strong military leader and one who could lend valuable support to a new Crusade. The Pope wrote a particularly cordial letter to the Armenian King and Catholicos in 1189, asking their backing for the imminent army of the Crusaders.<sup>30</sup> Clement III, like his predecessors or even European historians who visited the Holy Land or lived there, may have overestimated the might and the number of Armenians who could come to the aid of the Crusaders.<sup>31</sup> Yet, given the strength of Salah al-Din, who constantly threatened Levon's domains, as well as Levon's other Muslim neighbour Kilidj Arslan, the Armenian prince could support a Crusade only if he were sure of its success and if such a venture could strengthen his own position in the Levant. The promise of a crown could serve the latter purpose. In fact, according to a colophon written by Nersēs Lambronac'i, the most eminent participant of the Third Crusade—Emperor Frederick Barbarossa—had promised to crown Levon upon his arrival to Cilicia, which, however, was not to take place because of Barbarossa's death in 1190 while swimming in the Kalykadnos River (Lat. Calycadnus).<sup>32</sup> Lambronac'i, nevertheless, translated the Rite of the royal coronation from a Latin example that he received, according to his own testimony, from Herman, Archbishop of Münster.<sup>33</sup>

Frederick Barbarossa's death delayed Levon's coronation for eight long years and it seems natural that the Armenians should have regretted this event, especially given the fact that some of them were openly friendly to Barbarossa and his army as it crossed the Balkans. In fact, the Armeni-

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quite understandable why the Pope would be interested in getting involved in the project of elevating the Armenian Prince's status, as a means of extending or strengthening his influence over this Christian state as well as counter-balancing the influence of the Western Emperor in the Levant.

<sup>30</sup> The text of this letter, preserved only in its Armenian translation, has been published in various occasions, and most recently by Ananean 1996, 201–263. On Cilicia's importance as one of the most 'vital Christian states in the Levant' at this period, cfr Der Nersessian 1973*B*, 340–341; and Halfter 1996, 171–177 for the significance attached by Pope Clement III to Armenian help in his Crusader project. Ter-Petrosyan 2007, vol. 2, 180–181, suggests that the idea to request a crown from the West in exchange for Levon's military aid during the newly planned (Third) Crusade was probably conceived after receiving this letter.

<sup>31</sup> There seems to have been a common overestimation of the number of Armenians, for example, under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Catholicos. This is the case, for example, of Otto of Freising, cited in Halfter 1996, 143. On the same issue see also *Ibid*, 182.

<sup>32</sup> Yovsepean 1951, 538.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*.

ans living in the region of Philippopolis were accused by Greek authors as traitors for having collaborated with Barbarossa as he approached Thessaloniki.<sup>34</sup> Prince Levon, in his turn, sent delegations to Barbarossa while the latter was approaching Cilicia in order to demonstrate his good will. Yet, the situation was not that simple and diplomatic moves were just as complex. Ensuring the alliance of a strong western power stationed relatively far away—i.e. the Holy Roman Empire—at a price of a nominal vassalage could be definitely beneficial for Cilician Armenia. Yet, Levon was anxious about keeping his small domain independent from the effective control of any western or eastern ruler. Accepting a crown, and, thus, a legal dependence from Barbarossa, the strongest and most respected ruler in the West—the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire—may have turned out to be a double-edged sword. It could bring prestige in Levantine political dealings, but it could also create a possible danger of eroding or down-grading one's political independence. The German Emperor's domineering presence in the East could have justifiably caused uneasiness in the leader of a territory who constantly had to play a balancing act between strong powers that surrounded it, such as the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum and the Ayyubids, especially if one considers Barbarossa's alliance with Kilidj Arslan. Such may have been the political considerations—apart from an ever-present possibility that one's territories may be looted by soldiers of even an allied army—that compelled Levon to convince Barbarossa to change his route and reach Palestine without crossing Cilicia.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Baha ad-Din ibn Shaddad claims that the contemporary Catholicos Grigor Tlay, whose residence of Hromklay was outside of Levon's rule and in the territory controlled by Salah al-Din, wrote a letter to the Sultan informing him about Barbarossa's entry into Cilicia and gave a detailed account of the state of his army before and after the Emperor's death.<sup>36</sup> Given the close relationship

<sup>34</sup> Dédéyan 2004, 183–196, esp. 192–196.

<sup>35</sup> Mikayelyan 1952, 143–148. Ter-Levondyan 1994, 98–103. These authors rely on Muslim historians, such as abu Shama and ibn Shaddad to support this argument. Ibn Shaddad in his *Biography of Salah al-Din* includes a long letter written by Catholicos Grigor to the Ayyubid Sultan. See the note below.

<sup>36</sup> Mikayelyan 1952, 145–146; and ibn Shaddad in Nalbandyan 1965, 295–297, fully quoting the letter. Alishan 1889, 103, vehemently protested against the authenticity of these letters. Yet, other scholars have questioned this attitude and explained the purpose of the letter as a political/diplomatic move on the part of Grigor Tlay whose residence was under Salah al-Din's control. For an overview of different opinions and a balanced appraisal of the issue, cfr Halfter 1996, 176, esp. note 21 and Mnac'akanyan 1972, 57. Mutafian 1988, 166–170 provides an overview of all sources which indicate that

between Levon and the Catholicos it is unlikely that the Prince was unaware of Grigor Tlay's letter.<sup>37</sup> Thus, since the outcome of Barbarossa's exploits in the East could have had unpredictable consequences on Cilician Armenia, its ruler probably tried to prevent any undesirable outcomes by making *a priori* overtures to Salah al-Din through the Catholicos Grigor Tlay. This was simply *realpolitik*.<sup>38</sup> As it turned out, Levon's cautions were unnecessary since Barbarossa died before reaching the territories under the Prince's control.

After Barbarossa's death Levon did not give up his hopes for a royal crown. Moreover, at the turn of the twelfth century he was justified to feel one of the strongest rulers in the Near East, given the fact that all of the major rulers, such as Salah al-Din (died 1193) and Kilij Arslan (died 1192) had recently died, while Byzantium at this time had "become the 'Sick Man of Europe'".<sup>39</sup> At the end of May 1194, Levon's ambassadors visited the court of Emperor Henry VI while he was in Milan, reiterating Levon's request for a crown, and in 1195 they were received by Pope Clement III.<sup>40</sup> Two years later, in 1197, an embassy was sent to Constantinople headed by Nersēs Lambronac'i.<sup>41</sup> The great theologian was charged with the mission of trying to reach a compromise regarding the union of Armenian and Byzantine churches, but he most likely per-

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Armenians may have been playing a 'double game' between Salah al-Din and Frederick Barbarossa, fearing the latter's claims to 'Roman Emperorship', but appreciating his potential help against the Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din. According to this author we may say, with the benefit of hindsight, that the death of Barbarossa, especially because it was, shortly afterwards, followed by that of Salah al-Din in 1193, had a positive outcome for Cilician Armenia.

<sup>37</sup> A poem penned by Grigor Tlay on the fall of Jerusalem, where he lavishly praises Levon for his courage demonstrates the positive nature of their relationship at this time. Van Lint 2002, 121–142. The relationship may not have been always rosy, especially towards the end of Grigor's life (1193), as hypothesised by Mnac'akanyan in his 'Introduction' to GT 1972, 28–29.

<sup>38</sup> This opinion is further developed by Mikayelyan 1952, 147–148. Dédéyan 2004, cautiously and rightly states that the intricacies of the diplomatic correspondences between Levon, Barbarossa and Salah al-Din need further elaboration, perhaps with further examination of Arabic sources, which is beyond my own field of competence.

<sup>39</sup> Angold 1984, 284. For further details with citations from sources on Levon's growing importance in the last five years of the twelfth century cfr also Ter-Petrosyan 2007, 182–184.

<sup>40</sup> Halfter 1996, 193–197 for a minute discussion on dates, and Halfter 2006, 415 for the specific date of the embassy to Milan.

<sup>41</sup> We know about Lambronac'i's visit to Constantinople from a colophon written by him. Yovsepean 1951, 602.

formed also a diplomatic mission entrusted to him by Prince Levon.<sup>42</sup> Lambronac'i returned from this embassy quite disappointed, as is evident in the colophon written by him in 1197 at the end of a collection of patristic and dogmatic letters (of Armenian and Greek authors) that he intended to use in his conversations with Constantinopolitan religious and political leaders.<sup>43</sup> This disappointment is even more impressive when one considers Lambronac'i's previous admiration for Greek learning.

Interestingly, Levon was designated as king in some Armenian sources even before his coronation. Thus, a colophon of a manuscript of a *Hymnary* from 1186/87, states that it was written:

Ըստ խնդրոյ քրիստոսասէր Լևոնի արքայի Հայոց, որ կոչի Լևոն Երկրորդ  
...

... upon the request of Christ-loving Levon, King of the Armenians, who is called Levon the Second ...<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, he was called *autokrator* in a letter of Nersēs Lambronac'i addressed to him in 1195.<sup>45</sup>

Levon's actual coronation finally took place on January 6, 1198 in the Cathedral Church of St. Sophia in Tarsus. The papal legate in charge of crowning Levon was Conrad of Wittelsbach—Archbishop of Mainz.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Mikayelyan 1952, 152–154.

<sup>43</sup> Yovsepean 1951, 602.

<sup>44</sup> Mat'evosyan 1988, 252.

<sup>45</sup> This is a famous and much-quoted letter where Lambronac'i defends himself against the charges of bishops from Northern Armenia who condemned his openness to influences from Latin and Greek ecclesiastical traditions as a betrayal of ancestral Armenian customs. Here Lambronac'i comments also on the various Latin habits that had become common in the court of Prince Levon II. Among others, he cites some of the new terms that had entered into the common language of the high society, such as Sir, Liege, Bail, etc. (pp. 239–241). But the more familiar Greek terminology also survived; for example, such denominations as Sebastos or Prok'simos (from pro-xenos), etc. In the title of the letter Levon is characterised as *išxotn mer ink'nakalut'eamb*—ruling [us] as an *autokrator*. NL 1865, 207–248. Cfr also Dulaurier 1869, liv. For the date of the letter Polarean 1971B, 256.

<sup>46</sup> Halfter 1996, 216 on the coronation of Levon as a joint action of the Papacy and the Empire, of Pope Celestine III and Emperor Henry VI, even if by January 1198 Henry VI was dead. Cfr Ibid, 189–245, for a detailed analysis of the circumstances and the dating of the event. See also Mikayelyan 1952, 156–157 and Der Nersessian, 1973B, 343, note 23, where the author discusses in detail the controversy between the dates 1199 (proposed by Alishan, accepted by Tournebize and Ormanean) and 1198 for Levon's crowning. The year 1199 is based on the testimony of the *Chronicle* attributed to Smbat Sparapet, which omits the name of Nersēs Lambronac'i as one of the participants of the ceremony. All other Armenian historians, however, indicate 1198 as the date of Levon's coronation. Moreover,

There was, however, a condition to his crown: to bring about the union between the Armenian and Roman Churches.<sup>47</sup>

Levon's crowning left an indelible impression on contemporaries. They hailed him as the renovator of the long-lost independence of Armenians.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, his status was recognised both by the Holy Roman Empire and the Byzantium Empire, even if it is not altogether resolved whose crown he received first: the one from the Byzantine Emperor Alexius III Angelos, or that from Henry VI and Pope Celestine III. Sources are not consistent on this issue. Thus, one contemporary colophon written in 1198 in the Catholical residence of Hromklay speaks only about a crown sent by the Byzantine Court:

... սա միայն ստացաւ զաւգոստական զծիրանափայլ պատմունճանն և ընկալաւ աւծումս որպէս զմեծն Տրդատ, կամակցութեամբ արիական ազգին Յունաց, բերեալ նմա նշան զխաչանիշ թագն: Եւ նորա պատուասիրաբար կոչեցեալ զհոգևոր տէր Գրիգորիոս, զի երթիցէ և աւծցէ զնա սրբարար և մաքրագործակ մեռոնան և պսակեցէ զգլուխն խաչանշան դրոշմաւ:

... he [Levon] was the only one to obtain the august purple mantle and receive anointment as the Great Trdat, by the concordant will of the brave nation of Greeks, who brought him a crown with a cross. And he [Levon], in an honourable manner, called the spiritual lord Grigorios, in order that he may go and anoint him with the holy and purifying *miwron*<sup>49</sup> and crown his head with the cross-shaped sign.<sup>50</sup>

in a colophon Nersēs Lambronac'i (who died in July 1198) wrote about the coronation of the Rubenid Prince, thus confirming that it did take place in the year 1198. Halfter (as quoted above) came to the same conclusion based on a detailed chronological analysis of Conrad's itinerary in Italy and in the East, using mainly western sources. Later, however, he accepted 1199 based on the work of Prinzing-Schmidt on the Lemberg Evangelium, cfr Halfter 2006, p. 408 note 34. The latest analysis on the issue is that of Ter-Petrosyan 2007, vol. 1, 399 where he favours 1198 dating. I have accepted this conclusion and indicated 1198 as the date of Levon's coronation.

<sup>47</sup> The religious background of this union and reactions to it are treated in the next section (1.2) of this chapter.

<sup>48</sup> Alishan 1889, 95 quotes various contemporary Armenian historians, even if not always giving their names or exact sources where he found these quotations. This author himself continues in the long Armenian tradition of veneration for Levon, as Alishan compares Levon to the greatest rulers of his time, Frederick Barbarossa and Salah al-Din, *ibid*, 97. For the most recent analysis of the subject cfr Ter-Petrosyan 2007, 200–201.

<sup>49</sup> *Miwron* is a transcription of Greek μύρον or μύρων, in Armenian, as in Greek, signifying the holy oil, the oil of chrismation, used for ritual rites, such as baptism, ordination of priests, etc. Cfr NBH, 252.

<sup>50</sup> Mat'evosyan 1988, 293. This colophon is written in a manuscript containing *Commentaries on the General Epistles* by Sargis Šnorhali, reprinted from Alishan 1901, 441–448. Hac'uni 1924, 234–238 describes the Cilician crown, which usually was adorned

This brief colophon has much interesting data on the coronation of Levon. First of all, it only talks about a Byzantine crown and implies that the coronation was performed only by the Armenian Catholicos. Moreover, the ordination rite described here has similarities with a late (at least since the tenth century) Bagratid investiture ceremony, especially the ceremony of anointing the king by the current Armenian Catholicos and the placing of a crown on his head by the Catholicos. The colophon also mentions a purple mantle and a crown sent by the Byzantine Emperor to Levon, which echoes the dressing of the Bagratid King Ašot II in purple clothes upon his visit to the Byzantine capital in 945.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, in the *Letter of Love* Constantine the Great presents a purple mantle to Trdat. The author of the colophon found it natural to compare the first Christian Armenian King Trdat with Levon, who ‘renewed’ the long-lost kingdom of the Armenians. He was not the only one to make such allusions. A few years earlier, Nersēs Lambronac’i in his famous letter to Levon, (where he justified himself for his openness to other ecclesiastical traditions as well as indicated various foreign influences evident in the court of Levon), again called on Levon to follow the example of such pious kings as ‘David and Joseph, Constantine and Trdat.’<sup>52</sup> In his *Lamentation on the Fall of Jerusalem*, Grigor Tlay lauds profusely Levon’s military successes, comparing him to Alexander the Great, the hero Hayk—the legendary forefather of the Armenian nation—King Trdat, and King Artašēs.<sup>53</sup> Such comparisons were significant for the developing royal ideology in the Armenian Cilician Kingdom. They reflect efforts of the representatives of the Rubenid house to find more ancient origins and a direct royal connection of their founder, Ruben, to previous Armenian royal dynasties. A starting point was to claim that Ruben’s grandson T’oros took revenge for

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with pearls and precious stones, while the one sent from the Byzantine court had also a cross on it. Evans 1997, 485–507, even if treating a later period than the rule of Levon I, has established, based on a study of royal portraits, that while originally royal portraits and attire both in Greater Armenia and later on also in Cilicia bore strong eastern influences, art historical evidence from the middle of the 13th century points to a long-lasting influence of ‘Byzantine imagery as the ultimate symbol of authority’. In one case she could identify a Byzantine crown worn by Queen Keran, in a ms. of a Gospel from 1272 (J2563), while the origin of the crowns for the King and the children, all depicted in the same ms, remain uncertain. She brings forth many other examples of Armenian princes with attire or poses typical of Byzantine portraits.

<sup>51</sup> Cowe 1992B; Jones 2001/2, 360–366. For the use of purple and its ideology, cfr. Chapter 2, pp. 67–70.

<sup>52</sup> NL 1865, 247.

<sup>53</sup> GT 1972, 308–310.



the last Bagratid King Gagik's death, as mentioned above, which would serve as a proof that the two houses were related. As such, then, the Rubenids could make the most of this relationship and claim their origins from King David of Israel, the forefather of the Bagratid dynasty according to tradition.<sup>54</sup>

The details of Levon's crowning found in Kirakos Ganjakec'i's *History of the Armenians* are different. Although not stating it explicitly, this historian seems to imply that the Byzantine crown was sent only after Emperor Alexius III Angelos had become aware that a Latin crown was imminent. He supposedly pronounced these words when sending the crown: 'Do not put on your head the crown [sent from] Rome, but [the one sent by] us, since you are closer to us than to Rome'.<sup>55</sup> Smbat Sparapet, on the other hand, mentions that the Byzantine crown arrived in 1196, before the embassy of Nersēs Lambronac'i to Constantinople, but this is unlikely.<sup>56</sup> The importance of having received two crowns was emphasised by Lambronac'i:

... յօրում ամի [1198] վերապատուեցաւ թագաւոր Հայոց Լևոն, որ յՌոբինեանց, բարեպաշտ և յաղթաւղ Աստուծով: Որոյ հոչակ արութեանն շարժեաց զմեծ ինքնակալն հին Հռոմա զՀէոի և զնոր Հռոմա Ալէքս, որ պսակեցին զսա քարամբ պատուական, յեկեղեցի Տարսոնի, որ իմ անարժանութեամբ հովվի:

... in which year [1198] Levon, who was from [the house of the] Rubineanc', pious and victorious with the help of God, was greatly honoured as the King of Armenians. The fame of his courage had moved the great *autokrator* of Ancient Rome, Henry, and of New Rome, Alexios, who crowned him with precious stones, in the Church of Tarsus, which is under my, unworthy, pastoral care.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Cowe 1992B, 49–59, esp. 53. This legitimization would have been important also against Byzantine imperial ideology. Even though the Byzantine Court sent a crown to Levon, he was never recognised as βασιλεύς but as ρήξ, since from the Byzantine point of view only a heir of the Aršakuni dynasty could be a *basileus*. Cfr Bartikian 1984, 519–532. According to Bartikian, even Levon I may have attempted to establish a dynastic link between his and the Aršakuni houses. Ter-Petrosyan 2007, 200–206 believes that the legend of the 'royal, i.e. Bagratid, lineage' of the Rubenids originated after the coronation of Levon II as king Levon II since it appears only in 13th c. sources. It served at least two purposes. First, to legitimise the dynasty of the Rubenids and second, to emphasise Levon's (and future kings') authority over *all* Armenians and not just those living in Cilicia.

<sup>55</sup> KG 1961, 158. The last entry in Ganjakec'i's *History* is related to 1265/66, cfr Ibid, 46–47.

<sup>56</sup> Mikayelyan 1952, 152.

<sup>57</sup> Mat'evosyan 1988, the colophon is in M10480 (from 1286), but the original was written by Nersēs Lambronaci in 1198, containing the *Revelation of John*.

As briefly outlined above, Levon's external politics before and after the coronation were aimed at gaining a fully independent status for his realm. Politically, having received two crowns, neutralised his state. It was not dependent on either the Western or Eastern Empires. In any case, the weakened Byzantine Empire under the dynasty of the Angeloi was in no position to defy Levon's ambitions.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, while Levon was nominally a vassal of the Holy Roman Emperor, he maintained, in fact, full independence of action and owed no tributary obligations either to the Pope or to the Emperor.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, he strove to extend his control over the Principality of Antioch, first through marriage alliances, i.e. that of his niece Alis (the daughter of his deceased brother Ruben) to Raymond, the son of Prince Bohemund III of Antioch in 1195. Raymond-Ruben, the issue of this marriage, was to inherit his grandfather's title as the Prince of Antioch, and this would mean that *de facto* Levon would be the ruler of the Principality. However, when Bohemund III died (in 1200) his younger son, Bohemund IV challenged the young Raymond-Ruben and a long dispute, known as the Antiochene succession wars broke out. This would last from 1203 till 1216, ending, eventually, with an apparent victory of Levon's party and the anointing of Raymond-Ruben as Prince of Antioch. His reign, however, would not last long, as he was ousted by the local nobility in 1219 and fled the city. This thirteen-year long dispute for the legitimate successor of the Principality involved not only Levon and Bohemund IV, but also very closely Pope Innocent III, the Hospitallers and the Templars, as well as the high nobility of Armenian Cilicia and the Principality of Antioch.<sup>60</sup> Each side, Levon or Bohemund, tried to influence papal legates who were supposed to provide an impartial verdict as to the rightful heir of Antioch. A solution through diplomatic means, however, was next to impossible, and the eventual, seemingly victorious but short-lived, entry of Levon to Antioch took place only due to the occupation of one of the city's gates by the King's men during the night. This long conflict not only demonstrates Levon's aspirations at expanding the territories under his

<sup>58</sup> Mikayelyan 1952, 158. For the significance of having received two crowns cfr Ter-Petrosyan 2007, 190–191.

<sup>59</sup> Halfter 1996, 265–269, based on a detailed study of imperial and papal documents concluded that Levon did not owe any tributary obligations as a feudal vassal of the German Emperor or of the Pope.

<sup>60</sup> Cfr Mikayelyan 1952, 164–165, for a brief overview of the conflict; Cahen 1940, 596–623, remains a seminal study for its in-depth analysis of the subject.

control, but also his ability to use both diplomatic (that can be traced through numerous letters exchanged between him and Innocent III) and military means for reaching his goals. In conclusion, Levon was one of the most ambitious and able kings of his time and his contemporaries were well aware of these traits. Moreover, he remained in the consciousness of the Armenians as the glorious reviver of their long-lost independence. It is no wonder then, that in a climate of renewed interest in legends about the first Christian Armenian king Trdat and the revival of the Armenian royal dynasty at the End of times, Levon would tacitly become their model. In particular, this seems to be the case in the *Letter of Love and Concord*.

### 1.2. THE ARMENIANS AND THE ROMAN CHURCH IN THE 12TH–13TH CENTURIES

Throughout the twelfth century official contacts between the heads of Armenian and Roman Churches intensified.<sup>61</sup> The same century also witnessed a new breath in negotiations aimed at re-establishing a union between Armenian and Byzantine Orthodox Churches.<sup>62</sup>

Some of the surviving letters exchanged between various popes and catholicoi—aimed at solidifying or, depending on the time-frame, clarifying the terms and the validity of a confessional union between the two Churches—have allowed scholars to explore the details of Roman-Armenian relations starting with the first Crusades and later. Various studies dedicated to the subject assert that the two Churches were on distinctly cordial terms in the twelfth century and several Popes explicitly recognised the orthodoxy of the Armenian Church. Yet, there were ups and downs in the relationship of the two churches even in the twelfth and also later centuries, not least due to the fluctuations of the political forces in the Christian East. What has not been given much attention by scholars is the evidence that discussions and negotiations with the Church of Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries provided an

<sup>61</sup> Hamilton 1978; Halfter 1996; and Thomson 2001, 71–82. A less elaborate version of this section has been published as Pogossian 2006, 259–290.

<sup>62</sup> Some of the most important works on the Armenian-Byzantine dialogue of this period include: Tékéyan 1939; Zekiyan 1980, 420–441; and Idem 1986, 861–883. On the political background and its influence on ecclesiastical relations, Bartikian 1994; Bozoyan 1995, where on 19–28 there is a review of literature on the subject; and Idem 1988.

impetus for absorbing new terms, concepts, and forms of argumentation by Armenian authors and polemicists. This process of development can be compared to the influence of doctrinal debates in Late Antiquity on the shaping of ideas and concepts during the formative period of not only Armenian, but also generally Caucasian, theology.<sup>63</sup> During this formative period, even if in this earlier case the range of issues and their importance was more significant, the leaders of Armenian and other Caucasian churches were pushed to acquire a more profound understanding of theological-philosophical concepts underpinning Christological debates. Consequently they demonstrated much more sophistication in applying methods and the necessary vocabulary of logical argumentation pertinent to the issues of the time and in support of their own positions.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, as a result of discussions with representatives of the Roman Church, including the written correspondence with Popes, new concepts, specific to the Church of Rome, and forms of argumentation were introduced into Armenian theological discourse from the second half of the twelfth century. In written correspondence and closer everyday contacts with representatives of the Latin Church in the East new issues were raised—such as the primacy of the Roman Church and its authority over all other Churches—that previously had not been dealt with by Armenian ecclesiastical leaders. This forced the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Armenian theologians to develop and crystallise new concepts, particularly regarding the place of the Roman Church, in general, and in relation to the Armenian Church, in particular. These concepts can be traced in official letters and polemical writings, as well as in sources commonly considered to be legendary. The *Letter of Love and Concord* falls into the latter category. Some of these new ideas, especially as far as universal ecclesiology and the place of the Armenian Church within this hierarchy is concerned, surfaced also in twelfth-century negotiations with Byzantine religious and imperial authorities. By underlining these new elements and describing the overall context of this specific stage of development within Armenian theology, one is better able to appreciate the ecclesiological ideology propagated in the *Letter of Love and Concord*.

<sup>63</sup> For an overview, see, for example, Cowe 1996, 647–683, esp. 651–652 for the early Christian period.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

The twelfth century papal letters,<sup>65</sup> to contemporary Armenian catholici, leave the impression that the heads of the two Churches thought to be in communion with each other, even if differences in certain liturgical praxis existed. A letter of Innocent II (1130–1143) from 1141<sup>66</sup> to Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (1113–1166) stated:

We heard about your orthodox faith from the letter which our brother Alberic, Archbishop of Ostia, brought. Having read it, we gratefully gave glory to God for having preserved you firmly in the orthodox faith amid other nations.<sup>67</sup>

While the Pope admitted that Armenians were orthodox in faith, he demanded that certain liturgical changes be carried out. Those were as follows: mixing water with wine in the Eucharistic chalice,<sup>68</sup> and

<sup>65</sup> Twelfth-century papal letters, albeit not all of them, have been preserved only in their (medieval) Armenian translation. Unfortunately, the Armenian side of the correspondence has not survived. Most recently, papal letters have been edited and published along with their Italian translation in Ananean 1996. One of the letters has been translated (with an ample introduction and comments) into German also by Andrea Barbara Schmidt and Peter Halfter, Cfr Schmidt-Halfter 1999: 50–71.

<sup>66</sup> Dating of the letter in Schmidt-Halfter 1999, 57.

<sup>67</sup> Ananean 1996, 211. By 'other nations' in Armenian 'aylazgeac' miji' the Pope refers to Muslims.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 212. The Armenian Church is the only one to use pure wine, not mixed with water, for the Eucharistic celebration. This idiosyncratic tradition has been attested since the sixth century. In a private conversation with Prof. Nina Garsoian, she stated her conviction that this tradition stems from the common usage of drinking unmixed wine that was wide-spread in the Iranian cultural sphere as opposed to the Roman custom of drinking wine mixed with water. Her article on this issue had not appeared at the time of the final redaction of this book. It is worthwhile quoting the celebrated phrase of the sixth-century Catholicos Movsēs Eliwardec'i, when he refused to participate in a council convened at the will of Emperor Maurice around 593: 'I will not cross the River Azat [the dividing line between the Byzantine Empire and Sasanian Iran], nor eat oven-baked bread [i.e. leavened bread used by the Greeks for the Eucharist] or drink warm water [i.e. wine mixed with water]', in Garitte 1952, 40. On the subject see also, Mécérian 1965, 73–74; Zekiyan 1982, 155–174, esp. 164 on this subject; and Hanssens 1930, 156–167, and esp. 265–271 on celebrating the Eucharist with unmixed wine. Recently Cowe has convincingly argued that this liturgical practice became closely linked to Armenian Christological beliefs on more than one level. The mixing of water with wine could symbolise two natures in Christ (to which Armenians were opposed). But this practice (of mixing) could also imply the corruptibility of Christ's flesh, which a strong Julianist current within the Armenian Church did not admit as orthodox. From this point of view the Eucharistic wine mixed with water, or the leavened bread, were considered to symbolise a corruption after the union, thus becoming symbolically unacceptable for the Eucharistic celebration. For a detailed discussion and sources, Cowe 1992, 123–157, esp. 145 and Idem 2004, 30–54, esp. 39–40. For an overall view of Julianist or apthartodocetist trends in the Armenian church, cfr Meyendorff 1992, 27–37. To summarise, holding tight to the tradition of unmixed wine and unleavened bread was a

celebrating the Birth of Christ on December 25, rather than January 6.<sup>69</sup> Here is how the Pontifex Maximus justified his demands:

Even if there were twelve [apostles] chosen by Christ, Peter was appointed as the head of the apostles and the first among them. Likewise, this [See], which is his chair, is higher than all others.<sup>70</sup>

Thus, Innocent II appealed to the authority of the Roman Church first and foremost. Then, he insisted on the infallibility of the Roman Church, since 'no heresy ever entered this Church ... and [there was] no erring from the apostolic way'.<sup>71</sup> Based on these premises, the Armenians had to 'follow the orders and habits' of the Roman Church. And finally, the Pope brought forth other arguments, such as the practice of all other Christian nations, as well as testimonies from Latin and Greek Church Fathers which were to prove the fallacy of these two liturgical peculiarities of the Armenian Church. Towards the end of the letter, just before praising the Armenians for their endurance in an environment surrounded by Muslim states, Innocent II repeated his requests for liturgical changes:

And again we repeat and make it known to you, holy brother, that it is absolutely necessary to mix water during the service of Christ's Holy Mystery. We again beg you to listen to us and be equal to us in [administering] this

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liturgical usage closely linked to Christological beliefs, and thus any changes would have had far reaching symbolic and doctrinal implications that the Armenians were not willing to accept.

<sup>69</sup> The Armenians followed a Jerusalemite tradition of celebrating Christmas on January 6, which was passed on to Armenian Lectionnaires translated in the fifth century in Jerusalem. Renoux 1965, 343–359. After Chalcedonian controversies, the Armenians held fast to the tradition of celebrating simultaneously Christ's human birth in Bethlehem together with His divine birth symbolised by His baptism in the river Jordan. Cfr Renoux 1989, 428–433. Several sources from the sixth century indicate the importance of such an idiosyncratic liturgical calendar as a way of opposition to the Byzantine, i.e. Chalcedonian, Church. Various treatises on the Epiphany by Armenian authors from the sixth to seventh centuries that have come down to us stress the importance of celebrating in one day, January 6th, 'la naissance du Christ à Bethlehem et sa naissance éternelle, symbolisée par la voix du Père lors du baptême au Jourdain'. Renoux 1989, 432. Of course, as any liturgical usage (e.g. see the note above), the celebration of the Nativity and the Baptism in the same day also held a strong doctrinal symbolism, namely, it affirmed the unity of Christ's two natures. To celebrate the two feasts separately would mean, for the Armenians, to divide the natures of the Saviour. Cfr Renoux Ibid. Here, as in the case of the Eucharistic wine and bread, the liturgical usage which originally did not necessarily stem from doctrinal considerations, was later linked to a doctrine that was believed too sacred to be altered.

<sup>70</sup> Ananëan 1996, 211.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

Holy Mystery, and by [doing] so you would proclaim your love and concordance with the Holy Church and with us, since this Catholic Church is your mother and head and it is necessary to approve of and follow the wishes of the mother. And her wishes are: to follow her ways in [celebrating] the Birth of Christ and the Mystery of the Sacrifice and not to err from this motherly road.<sup>72</sup>

Another letter, this one from Lucius III (1181–1185), written forty years after that of Innocent II, on December 3, 1183, and received by Catholicos Grigor Tlay (1173–1193) in 1184<sup>73</sup> started with an even larger exposé on the Roman primacy, saying, *inter alia*, the following:

... the Church of Rome ... was founded on the rock of faith by the power of God, and as defined by Him, has powers over all Churches and authority to instruct all Churches and to teach other members.<sup>74</sup>

Lucius III also requested that liturgical changes be introduced in the Armenian Church in conformity with corresponding Roman practices. Speaking about the necessity of mixing water with wine during the Eucharistic celebration, the Pope says:

Turn from your habit to the way by which we go, since being in union with us in incorruptible faith, let there be no disagreement between us in [religious] services.<sup>75</sup>

These papal letters were a product of the ideology of the primacy of the Roman See that took shape particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>76</sup> Their verbal formulation of and insistence on the primacy of the Roman Church made use of expressions habitual for their time. These, however, were not necessarily known to the Armenian side. One may only conjecture the response or reaction in the Armenian ecclesiastical milieu to this type of reasoning since the answers of catholicoi

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 214.

<sup>73</sup> Ananean 1996, 218 for dating. Between the letter of Innocent II and that of Lucius III there must have been another one written by Pope Eugene III (1145–1153) and given to the Armenian delegation that visited his court in Viterbo in 1145. This letter is lost, but traces of it have survived in the decisions of the Synod of Sis of 1307, cfr Ananean 1996, 207. Most probably Eugene III's letter addressed issues similar to those raised in the letters of Innocent II and Lucius III. Moreover, it is possible that the Armenian delegation to Viterbo included also the future Catholicos Nersēs Šnorhali who participated in a mass celebrated by the Pope. On the Armenian delegation to Pope Eugene III, Dédéyan 1992, 237–252, and Halfter 1996, 139–143.

<sup>74</sup> Ananean 1996, 215.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 216.

<sup>76</sup> Maccarrone 1991, 541–665, and Idem 1992, 821–927.

to these letters have not been preserved. Some hypothesis in this regard, however, may be proposed by briefly looking into the Armenian tradition of dogmatic writing, in general, and closer to this period, in particular.

This tradition, far from being monolithic or homogenous in time and space, took its shape in the form of multiple responses to doctrinal, especially Christological, developments and controversies within Christianity. A dominant theme, especially from the seventh century on, was the refusal of Armenians to accept the duophysite Christology of the Fourth Ecumenical Council (the Council of Chalcedon of 451) sometime between the second half of the sixth and the early seventh century.<sup>77</sup> This decision not only caused internal divisions within the Armenian Church between pro- and anti-Chalcedonians, but also created serious tensions with the Byzantine and the neighbouring Georgian and

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<sup>77</sup> Modern scholars differ in their evaluation of when the Armenians fully and consciously rejected the Council of Chalcedon. Some consider that the First Council of Duin at 505/506, where the Armenians expressed a negative attitude to the Council of Chalcedon by implying that it strengthened the Nestorian doctrine, was 'the first official and formal rejection of the Council of Chalcedon by the Armenian Church', as in Sarkissian 1965, 213. Other studies, however, have emphasised that this Council did not directly deal with the Council of Chalcedon but with Nestorians. And even the Second Council of Duin of 555, which condemned more clearly the Chalcedonian Christological formula, cannot be cited as the official breaking point between Armenian and Chalcedonian Churches. Zekian 1982, 158–160 has conveniently summarised different scholarly opinions on the date when Armenians took a clearly anti-Chalcedonian position. For this author (p. 163), at the end of the sixth century there already prevailed in Armenia a 'virulent anti-Chalcedonism', while the sixth-century controversies between Georgian and Armenian Churches solidified a better understanding of the Chalcedonian doctrine in Armenia and, consequently, the anti-duophysite Christology became the only officially accepted dogma in the Armenian Church. More recently, Garsoïan 1999, 242–259, has emphasised that while *de facto* the Armenian Church was in schism from the Church of Constantinople from the second half of the sixth century, a *de jure* division should be dated with the formal condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon by Catholicos Abraham II in 607 (363 and ff). Nevertheless, Chalcedonian strongholds never ceased to exist in some parts of Armenia, such as the region of Tayk' or Karin/Theodosiopolis, and there were also Armenian catholicoi who sympathised with that doctrine. An exposition of a history of the Armenian Church, including the names of those catholicoi who were considered 'orthodox' or Chalcedonian until the VIII century, from a Chalcedonian point of view, has come down to us in various text fragments extant in Greek, one of the most important among them being the *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*. Apart from Christological disagreements, matters of Church hierarchy and the issue of the autocephaly of the Armenian Church also played no small role in assuming an anti-Chalcedonian position. Cfr also Amadouni 1968. For a summary of these issues, van Esbroeck 1993, and Mécérian 1965, 59–78 on the issue of the Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church. On Armenian Chalcedonians, Marr 1906 remains an important study with ample information and source analysis; and Garitte 1952. For a treatment of the subject closer to the period of our interest, the tenth and eleventh centuries, Arutjunova-Fidanjan 1980.



(Caucasian) Albanian Churches. In this respect, the defense of a Cyrillian, anti-duophysite Christology was a prime task to be exposed in Armenian polemical literature. Another doctrinal theme, reflecting an important Syriac influence on early Armenian church, and debated especially within the Armenian Church itself, was the incorruptibility of Christ's body or a doctrine propagated by Julian of Halicarnassus and supported, in Armenia in the seventh century, by Yovhan Mayragomec'i.<sup>78</sup> Christology and theology were then linked to liturgical issues as well. What popes saw as problems within the Armenian liturgical praxis, as mentioned above, were points of contention and matters of discussion between the Armenian Church and other eastern Churches in earlier centuries.

The *Book of Letters*, an official compilation of letters written by various Armenian or other important ecclesiastical leaders and Church Fathers (not all authentic, though) allows one to get a glimpse at how the representatives of the Armenian Church argued for their dogmatic position as well as liturgical traditions.<sup>79</sup> It is important to remember that the *Book of Letters* acquired official status as an authoritative collection of documents under Catholicos Yovhannēs Ojnec'i, who was instrumental in strengthening the anti-Chalcedonian stance of the Armenian Church.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, a council convened under Ojnec'i in Duin, in 720, specifically required that unleavened bread and unmixed wine be used during the Eucharistic service.<sup>81</sup> In the various early letters within *BL* the maximum authority to whom the Armenians appealed was St. Gregory the Illuminator, the founding father of the Armenian Church, followed by the dogma of the first three Ecumenical Councils, particularly emphasizing their adherence to the Nicene creed. It is perhaps predictable that around the same time, Chalcedonian Armenians referred to the same authorities—especially St. Gregory and the Council of Nicaea—as the

<sup>78</sup> Cowe 1992A, 138–139; Idem 2004, 39–40; Idem 1996, 675–676.

<sup>79</sup> *BL*. The second edition of this book (ed. N. Połarean, Jerusalem: St. James Armenian Patriarchate Press, 1992) was not available to me.

<sup>80</sup> For the different stages in the compilation of the *BL*, cfr Mahé 1996, 927–958, esp. 927–929, where he affirms that the first part of the *BL* was finalised in 628, based on the first colophon (on *BL*, p. 219). It received an official status and was reintroduced in usage by Catholicos Yovhannēs Ojnec'i (before the latter's death in 728). During the Cilician period, as a result of debates with Roman and Byzantine Churches, other, sometimes spurious, letters were added by clerics who wished to strengthen the traditional stance of the Armenian church on various issues debated at that time.

<sup>81</sup> Cited in Cowe 1992A, 145, where Cowe demonstrates that this requirement came as a response to Julianist pressures within Armenia.

sources of *their* orthodoxy in opposition to non-Chalcedonian Armenians. Each group considered itself the true heir of these traditions.<sup>82</sup> Medieval Armenian writers also quoted extensively from the works of venerated Armenian or Greek, Latin and Syriac Church Fathers in support of their orthodoxy or liturgical peculiarities.<sup>83</sup> In this context, *The Seal of Faith*, written in the seventh century is also emblematic. It imitated the polemical work of the Monophysite bishop of Alexandria, Timotheus Aeluros—*Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon*—and consisted only of quotations, thought to be anti-Chalcedonian, by various Armenian or other Church Fathers.<sup>84</sup> It could also be used, among others, as a ready tool in anti-Chalcedonian polemics, even if its main purpose may have been the internal debates within the Armenian Church about the issue of Christ's incorruptibility.

From among Latin fathers or authorities,<sup>85</sup> the Armenians revered particularly the contemporaries of St. Gregory the Illuminator: the first Christian Armenian king, Trdat, Emperor Constantine the Great, and Pope St. Sylvester. The Armenian historical tradition had preserved many reminiscences about St. Gregory the Illuminator's and Trdat's visit to Rome, to pay homage to and strike an alliance with Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester.<sup>86</sup> This tradition was to acquire more importance

<sup>82</sup> For textual evidence regarding the authorities cited in Chalcedonian polemics by Armenians, cfr Cowe 1992A, 143–149 and 153. The same authorities were referred to also by the Julianist Yovhan Mayragomec'i and his opponent T'eodoros K'rt'enawor.

<sup>83</sup> It has been noted that some Armenian polemicists quoted Church Fathers from tendentious translations or redactions of their works, in a way to suit their own arguments. These quotations were usually repeated mechanically in various polemical letters for centuries. There is, however, no exhaustive study on the subject which would analyse the considerable amount of Armenian polemical literature and provide any definitive conclusions on the issue. Nevertheless, there was a growing tendency from the eleventh century on, particularly among Cilician Armenians, to use the original sources or to make new, better translations. On some aspects of the matter, cfr Thomson 1967, 432–438.

<sup>84</sup> Tēr-Mkrtchian 1914. Cowe 2004, 41, on the influence of Timotheus Aeluros and of the *BL* on this compilation, which, according to this author, was aimed at strengthening the doctrine of the incorruptibility of Christ's flesh, a disputed issue within the Armenian Church itself, rather than for anti-Byzantine polemics. However, much of the original writings by Yovhan Mayragomec'i are preserved in the *Seal of Faith*. Cowe 2004, 39–40.

<sup>85</sup> The most commonly quoted Roman popes were St. Sylvester, St. Julius (under whose name various Apollinarian writings survive), Damasus, Celestine I and Victor. See for example, *BL*, 306. This issue is treated also in Shirinian 2003, 96.

<sup>86</sup> An overview in Thomson 1997, where he shows that in Armenian historical tradition Constantine and Sylvester were invoked either in the context of military alliance with Rome or in a religious context to prove the orthodoxy of Armenians. See Chapter 2 pp. 50–53 for a detailed discussion on the issue of the voyage to Rome.

during the Cilician period in the context of the Crusades, as we shall see below. The *Letter of Love* was a direct product of this same tradition.

Briefly, the Armenian dogmatic literature before the Cilician period emerges as one focused on Christology but which had also developed arguments for defending the liturgical peculiarities of the Armenian Church, given that the latter were closely linked to Christology itself. Armenian authors recognised only the authority of the first three Ecumenical Councils and pre-Chalcedonian Church Fathers as their guides in faith. For an Armenian cleric trained and educated in this background, the twelfth century letters of Roman pontiffs would present two novel elements. One unusual aspect was the absence of any theological or Christological discussions, or the mention of the Council of Chalcedon in them. Moreover, even when criticizing Armenian liturgical usages, the pre-Chalcedonian Latin fathers, such as St. Ambrose and Cyprian, and Popes Alexander and Julius, were invoked.<sup>87</sup> These letters were not polemical in tone, but tended to be cordial and even laudatory as far as Cilician Armenians' merits in safeguarding the Christian faith in the East were concerned. The other novelty was the insistence on the authority of the Church of Rome and the *cathedra Petri* as the ultimate authority when recommending or rather requesting changes to be undertaken within the Armenian Church. At the same time, the Popes recalled that Armenians themselves had expressed their obedience to the Roman See. For example, in the letter of Innocent II we read:

Thus, if you are obedient to this chair, as you have written, then you must correct ... according to our rites.<sup>88</sup>

Similarly, Lucius III wrote:

... and you, beloved brothers and sons, that rest in the bosom of your mother,<sup>89</sup> and greet her faith and more than anything else love concor-

<sup>87</sup> The necessity of accepting the Council of Chalcedon was mentioned in a letter written in 1080 by Pope Gregory VII to Catholicos Grigor Vkasas̄; Täutu 1943, No. 380, 790–792. However, twelfth-century Roman pontiffs did not bring this issue up in their correspondence. Schmidt-Halfter 1999, 63–64, note that Innocent II and most likely also Eugene III in his now lost letter invoked only the names of those Roman popes or Church Fathers who were accepted figures in the Armenian tradition as well. This leads one to suppose that these popes were at least conscious of certain problems that Armenians had regarding the Council of Chalcedon and preferred to remain silent on this important issue.

<sup>88</sup> Ananean 1996, 212.

<sup>89</sup> I.e., the Roman Church.

dance with her ... pray for the benevolence of God so that you may be united with her.<sup>90</sup>

In the Armenian Church, similar to all other eastern Churches, the bishop of Rome, as the successor, and the Church of Rome, as the See founded by the Apostle Peter, did hold a place of honour.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, the Armenian catholicoi who most likely expressed their veneration for St. Peter or deep respect for the Pope in their letters, now lost, meant this in an honorary sense and not as an obligation to accept the juridical authority of the Roman Church over their own. Thus, even though the twelfth-century Roman-Armenian exchange of letters leaves the impression that an ideal relationship existed between the two Churches, it obfuscates the underlying misunderstanding between the two parties and the difference in the concept of union or full communion between churches as defined by each side.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, Armenians had never had the occasion or the need to deal with the issue of the primacy of Rome as it was envisaged by the Church of Rome in the twelfth century, and, thus, its theologians or leaders did not have a ready arsenal of responses—as they did to Christological arguments—to the type of approach that the Roman side had espoused through centuries of development of the theology of Petrine primacy. It was to take some time before Armenians fully took into consideration the arguments presented by the Roman Church—in support of its claim to juridical authority over all Churches—and refute or accept them.

As far as liturgical changes requested by popes are concerned, we may infer the Armenians' attitude by looking into the documents regarding the almost contemporary negotiations that took place between Armenian and Byzantine Churches in the second half of the twelfth century. These discussions were quite different from all previous Byzantine-Armenian talks, since there was an unprecedented spirit of goodwill expressed by participants of both sides to end their centuries-long disagreements. During the Byzantine-Armenian dialogue of the twelfth

<sup>90</sup> Ananian 1996, 216.

<sup>91</sup> de Vries 1968, 13–35; van Esbroeck 1991.

<sup>92</sup> This misunderstanding has been emphasised by other scholars, such as Hamilton 1978 and further elaborated upon by Halfter 1996. Both scholars illustrate that while the Armenian catholicoi expressed their veneration for the See of Rome as the See of the Apostle Peter, the Roman side assumed that the Armenians recognised the primacy of the Roman See in the Roman sense, i.e. juridical primacy. Similarly, while the Armenians viewed a union between Churches as a 'friendship pact', the Roman Church saw it as the submission of the Armenian Church to its authority.

century the chair of the Armenian catholicossate was occupied by the great theologian and thinker St. Nersēs Šnorhali (1165–1173) and consequently by his nephew and spiritual son Grigor Tlay (1173–1193). It was also a period which exhibited both a tendency and desire for peaceful cohabitation between eastern Christians of various denominations, e.g. Greeks, Syrians and Armenians, expressed in various contemporary sources.<sup>93</sup> Nersēs Lambronac'i—Šnorhali's nephew and one of the most significant medieval Armenian theologians and dynamic ecclesiastical and political figures—also took an active part in these negotiations. In his letters to Emperor Manuel Comnenus, St. Nersēs Šnorhali expressed in very clear terms what 'union between Churches' meant for him and his Church. The influence of his ideas on leaders of the Armenian Church was significant in this period as well as later.

As mentioned above, the letters exchanged between the representatives of the Armenian and Byzantine sides kept a respectful tone. As was usual with Byzantine-Armenian ecclesiastical relations, these negotiations accorded a large space to theological discussions. Nersēs Šnorhali sent a detailed exposition of the Armenian faith and liturgical practices to the Emperor, along with explanations of their origin.<sup>94</sup> The Byzantine theologian Magister Theorianos also made a report on the discussions that were held at the catholical residence of Hromklay. His description equally concentrated on theological-Christological debates, first and foremost.<sup>95</sup> It is evident that the two sides began discussing specific liturgical issues only after long theological discourses. These were liturgical changes that the Armenian Church had to undertake should it desire to conclude a full union with the Byzantine Church. The Byzantine side presented nine chapters which included questions of liturgical and theologi-

<sup>93</sup> For the Syrian side, cfr for example, Weltecke 2003, 99, mentioning a tendency of strengthening a benevolent relationship between various Christian peoples living in Northern Syria, including Armenians, 'Franks', Greeks and West Syrians; on Syrian-Armenian cultural relations in the same context of a religiously tolerant atmosphere, cfr. Levon Ter-Petrossian 1989. Cfr also note 114 for further evidence in Armenian sources.

<sup>94</sup> NS 1871. The correspondence between Šnorhali and Manuel Comnenus is on pp. 85–166. Nersēs Šnorhali's confession of faith became a standard document used by Armenians in all future centuries in their theological discussions. It was used, for example in the Confession of Faith sent by Catholicos Konstantin Barjraberdci (1221–1267) to the Patriarch of Constantinople Manuel I (1244–1255) and to Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254), as mentioned by Bozoyan 1995, 36–37. Konstantin Barjraberdci's confession of faith to the Pope has been recently published in German translation, from an autograph Vatican manuscript. Halfter-Schmidt 2003.

<sup>95</sup> Theorianos Magister, cols. 121–212.

cal nature. It is noteworthy how Nersēs Šnorhali replied to these requests, since we could see that this type of answer could be produced in this same milieu when negotiating with the Church of Rome:

If there is a way to suppress what has become like a second nature to us, ancient ancestral traditions of our nation, we may accept [to do] so now, and [we will do] this for the sake of communion in the love of God and not as if turning from an error into the righteous [path], since our ecclesiastical traditions have been confirmed by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures.<sup>96</sup>

Šnorhali outlined the principles necessary for any discussion on union of Churches which have been called by a modern scholar as ‘une charte de l’action pour l’union.’<sup>97</sup> He emphasised, *inter alia*, the importance of charity and prayer in preparing for such an important dialogue, the necessity of consulting with all representatives of one’s Church and not acting on the basis of one’s personal convictions or desires, and the establishment of a climate where all sides could act as equals, free of any pressure when explaining or defending the peculiarities of their traditions. Šnorhali considered his pastoral duties as head of a Church to be his most important responsibility, and thus, understood very well that liturgical or doctrinal reforms were not welcomed by all representatives of his Church, to say the least. The correspondence with the Roman and especially the Byzantine Churches raised suspicions in Greater Armenia, particularly in the celebrated monasteries of Northern Armenia—Halpat and Sanahin. Northern monks doubted the sincerity of the other side, considering any attempts at unification of Churches as a challenge to the autonomy of the Armenian Church and an offence to its orthodoxy. They feared that their ancestral traditions were being betrayed and altered.<sup>98</sup> In

<sup>96</sup> NS 1871, 161.

<sup>97</sup> Zekıyan 1980, 434. The seven principles necessary for negotiations on union are on 434–437.

<sup>98</sup> On the resistance of Northern monasteries, Ormanean 1913, 1410–1425, 1446–1486, esp. 1460–1466, who sympathises with them, and Tékéyan 1939, 42–47, who considers them closed-minded traditionalists; Bozoyan 1999, 120–136, has underlined the bifurcation of the Armenian culture in this period which the negotiations with Byzantine and Roman Churches made ever more evident. However, even within Cilicia not everyone was favorable towards this openness to other Churches and traditions. The correspondence between Catholicos Grigor Tlay, the Abbot of the Monastery of Halpat Grigor Tudēordi, and the monks from ‘Northern monasteries’ as well as a letter of Nersēs Lambronac’i to (the future) King Levon, demonstrate the seriousness of disagreements and differences of opinion between some religious leaders in Cilicia and in Armenia proper. At the same time, Cilician Armenian catholicoi of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries made great efforts to keep the communion with Armenians in Armenia who,

fact, none of those liturgical changes required by the Byzantine and later by the Roman Church was ever put into effect.<sup>99</sup>

Issues of ecclesiastical hierarchy were also brought up during Byzantine-Armenian negotiations. There were nine chapters presented by the Byzantine side as necessary conditions for a full union. Among them there was a request that the Armenians accept the nomination of the future Catholicos only from the *Basileus of the Romans*.<sup>100</sup> The Armenian response, which came only in 1178 when the political situation

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at times, did not hesitate to elect an anti-Catholicos, when the circumstances were ripe. Catholicos Grigor Tlay, for example, spoke with humility to Grigor Tudēordi addressing him as a great teacher and theologian and asking for his sage opinion on how to proceed in discussions with the Byzantine Church. Grigor Tlay's letters to Tudēordi have been published as a part of a series of articles and sources by Aršak Ter-Mikēlean in the journal *Ararat* in 1893. In his answer to Catholicos Grigor Tlay, Grigor Tudēordi advised categorically not to continue any negotiations with the Byzantine Church because in his opinion there could be 'no kind of communion with them', GT 1893, 327. There is a third letter of Grigor Tlay to Grigor Tudēordi, where the Catholicos uses a different tone and severe, reproaching words in the Abbot's address, GT 1865, 5–52. Some scholars have suggested that this last letter was heavily edited by Nersēs Lambronac'i. Ormanean 1913, col. 1480, and Hakobyan 1965, 83–90. Nersēs Lambronac'i, the Archbishop of Tarsus, a close collaborator of both Catholicos Nersēs Snorhali and Grigor Tlay, and the chancellor of King Levon, was himself a great thinker and theologian open to influences from other traditions. However, he exhibited a much shorter temper and harsher words addressed to 'northerners' who accused him of betraying national traditions. Cfr NL 1865, 207–248. An exposition of some of these letters with insightful comments can be found in Gugerotti 2001, 226–270.

<sup>99</sup> However, other aspects of the liturgy of the Armenian Church underwent a heavy influence both from Byzantine and Latin rites. Cfr, Winkler 1975; Findikyan 1999 and Gugerotti 2001. Gugerotti noted that while the Armenian ordination rites underwent a profound influence from Greek and Latin ceremonies, 'Vi fu invece aperta polemica sugli elementi che Roma chiese fossero modificati o inseriti nella liturgia degli Armeni. Di essi, a ben guardare, nulla o quasi nulla resta nell'attuale prassi della Chiesa apostolica, anche se in parte essi permangono presso gli Armeni cattolici', 328. As mentioned above, liturgical changes implied also a revision of doctrinal positions, which the Armenians were not willing to undertake. Hence, there was openness to some changes, especially when these were not seen as altering doctrinal tenets, and a very conservative attitude for holding fast to other ecclesiastical traditions.

<sup>100</sup> NS 1871, 157. These requests were written in the summer of 1171, cfr Bozoyan 1995, 65–66, where Bozoyan cites also from the Greek version. The reply to this letter was written just before Snorhali's death in 1173, stating that a national synod was necessary before the Armenian side could take an official position on the nine points requested by the Byzantine side. This synod finally took place in 1178 in Hromklay, where Nersēs Lambronac'i most likely pronounced his famous *Synodal Discourse* arguing for the necessity of union between all Churches of Christ, building his speech on the concept of love for Christ. NL 1996 with an ample introduction and comments by its translator Zekian, NL 1996, 5–23.

had changed after the Byzantine defeat of 1176 at Myriokephalon,<sup>101</sup> is revealing and may have found an echo in the *Letter of Love* as well. The Armenians replied that if the Roman Emperor were to acquire the right to nominate an Armenian Catholicos, the chair of the Armenian Catholicos should be renamed as the Patriarchate of Antioch.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, it is possible that these requests prompted Nersēs Lambronac'i to translate two works on the hierarchy of churches, by Neilos Doxopratis and Epiphanius of Cyprus, with the help of a Greek priest, Constantine of Hierapolis.<sup>103</sup> In the Armenian translation, several sections were added that emphasised the independence of the Armenian Catholicos.

This intense climate of discussions, disagreements, attempts at union with the Byzantine Church or a desire to insist on the communion with the Roman Church brought forth new ways of arguing for the validity of Armenian traditions. While Nersēs Šnorhali's letters are an example of logical and convincing argumentation based on scriptural and patristic evidence, as well as very thorough reflections on the origins of peculiarities within each Church, theologians of the next generation added something else to their own apologies for the Armenian confession of faith and ecclesiastical traditions. They probably felt the necessity to develop new arguments in support of their Church since the traditional ones could be discarded by Roman insistence on the primacy of the *Ecclesia Romana* and its God-given right to correct the usages of all other Churches according to her own.

Various types of Armenian sources from the twelfth and the early thirteenth century show that different ideas were being worked out during this period. Some of them, traditionally classified as legendary sources, are quite important. Firstly, because they are organically related to the *Letter of Love*, and thus to this study, and secondly because, as M. van Esbroeck pinned down: 'Les sources dites légendaires ne sont pas moins négligeables: elles constituent le plus souvent les mass-media de l'époque,

<sup>101</sup> Even if the defeat at Myriokephalon may not have been a huge military disaster as it is presented by contemporary sources, its negative psychological effects on Manuel Comnenus and others in his entourage was considerable. Cfr. Angold 1984, 193–194.

<sup>102</sup> Palčean 1878, 260–266; Bozoyan 1995, 175–178.

<sup>103</sup> Bozoyan 1995, 176; ND 1902 and EC 1902. As pointed out by Bozoyan 1995, 176–178, the Armenian translation includes various additional sections absent in the Greek original, aimed at stressing the independence of the Chair of the Armenian Catholicos. H. Bartikian 1989, 197–204, mentions that these translations were part of other works of legal/ecclesiological nature translated by Nersēs Lambronac'i, and even one of the articles of Mxit'ar's *Lawbook* on ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy was an interpolation by Lambronac'i, cfr pp. 203–204.



et répondent à des intentions explicites'.<sup>104</sup> These sources will be discussed in the next chapter when describing the general textual context in which the *Letter of Love* was created. Here, I shall explore the 'official' historiography, as well hagiographical and polemical compositions which give us indications as to the types of responses that Armenians were searching for and then came to incorporate in their works as a result of confrontations with the idea of the Roman primacy.

In this new type of argumentation Roman liturgical practices and what was believed to have been the 'original' teaching of the Roman Church are put forth as a yardstick for Armenian orthodoxy. There is a new insistence on the concept that all peculiar Armenian practices or theological positions originated in Rome and are, thus, orthodox by default. An interesting example of this new way of argumentation may be observed by tracing the development of the apologetics regarding a particular type of five-day fast called *arajaworac'*, which was observed in the Armenian Church before the Great Lent.<sup>105</sup> It was believed that this was the first fast observed by King Trdat before his Baptism, instituted by St. Gregory the Illuminator himself. Later, the historian Yovhan Mamikonean, probably in the tenth century, attached also the names of St. Sylvester and Emperor Constantine to the administration of the *arajaworac'* fast.<sup>106</sup> Repeating the common belief that this fast was administered by St. Gre-

<sup>104</sup> van Esbroeck 1991, 493.

<sup>105</sup> The first reference to this fast is found already in the sixth century but it was consolidated in the Armenian tradition only from the seventh or eighth centuries on. It was commonly believed that St. Gregory the Illuminator himself had administered this fast. Renoux 1989, 433–436. Later on, the names of Constantine and Sylvester also became attached to the establishment of this fast (see below).

<sup>106</sup> YM 1941, 73–74. The date of the composition of this *History* is debated. L. Avdoyan has proposed 966–988 as the most probable timeframe, in YM 1993, 45–47. If this dating is correct, then it was Tarawnec'i who for the first time associated the names of Constantine and Sylvester to this fast. Cfr Avdoyan's comments in YM 1993, 193, to this historian's knowledge of oral traditions related to this fast which mentioned St. Sylvester in relation to the administration of the *arajaworac'*. Avdoyan implies that Ps.-Yovhan wrote down this oral tradition and became the source for another, late tenth-century historian, Uxtanēs, while a near-contemporary (early eleventh-century) historian Asolik does not mention this Roman Pope with regard to the *arajaworac'* fast. All of these imply that linking St. Sylvester to the origins of this fast was a new argument. We may add that Sylvester's name was not mentioned in another treatise on the *arajaworac'* by a tenth-century author Samuēl Kamrājorec'i, cfr Renoux 1997, 379–396, the French translation of the text 385–393. Samuēl Kamrājorec'i quoted a variety of Church Fathers for his argumentation, whereas in our period there is a strong insistence particularly on the authority of St. Gregory the Illuminator along with St. Sylvester and Constantine the Great.

gory, he added that since it was accepted by St. Sylvester, he and Emperor Constantine decided to institute this fast also in Rome.<sup>107</sup> The first influential theologian to include this argument in his theological *Letter* and popularise it was Mxit'ar Goš (c. 1140–1213). He was a great monastic teacher of North-Eastern Armenia but spent much time also in Cilicia. Mxit'ar Goš was the first author to have compiled an Armenian secular law-book.<sup>108</sup> Mxit'ar lived in the domain of powerful Princes Zak'arē (being his confessor) and Ivanē Zak'arean, vassals of the Georgian Queen Tamar (1184–1213). Their military campaigns against various Muslim states in the region had liberated almost the entirety of Greater Armenia and brought it under the suzerainty of the Georgian Kingdom.<sup>109</sup> Mxit'ar Goš was close to Georgian political and ecclesiastical leaders and the issue of the Council of Chalcedon, as well as other differences between Armenian and Georgian Churches, could not but resurface as an endless source of polemics and discussions. In his *Letter*<sup>110</sup> addressed to the Georgians, Mxit'ar wrote a long exposition in defense of all particular Armenian traditions and the confession of faith. He described different ecclesiastical customs of various peoples and tried to demonstrate that all of them were valid. Mxit'ar considered the divisions between diverse Christian confessions a sign of human weakness and arrogance, the work of evil against the will of God.<sup>111</sup> For this study there are two interesting points in his *Letter*. The first is how Mxit'ar explains the *arajaworac'* fast.

<sup>107</sup> There are two documents, supposedly prior to the tenth century, found in the *Book of Letters* that mention Sylvester and Constantine in relation to the *arajaworac'* fast. One of them is a letter ascribed to the seventh-century author Step'anos Siwnec'i, *BL* 323–334, 334 on the *arajaworac'* fast. The other one claims to be a dialogue between the seventh century Catholicos Komitas and a Patriarch of Constantinople, whose name is not mentioned, *BL*, 484–502, 497 on the *arajaworac'* fast. The authenticity of both documents, however, has been contested, and based on their content the twelfth or thirteenth centuries have been proposed as a more probable date for their composition by Grigorean 1966, 437–460. On dating of the letters cfr *Ibid.* 446–448, where the author suggests another Step'anos Siwnec'i, i.e. the historian Orbelean (13th c.), as a more probable author of these letters. This date seems much more secure. Cfr also Thomson 1997, 283–284.

<sup>108</sup> *MG* 2000, 16–20, on the life of the author of the *Lawcode*.

<sup>109</sup> Manandyan 1977, 131–188.

<sup>110</sup> *MG* 1900 and *Idem* 1901. Polarean 1971, 262, suggested 1200 as the approximate date of the composition of the *Letter*.

<sup>111</sup> *MG* 1900, 504 and 562. In his insistence on the idea that divisions between Churches were against God's will and caused by Evil, as well as his mocking attitude to all those who considered their own national Church the only orthodox one, Mxit'ar's letter has many similarities with a letter of another contemporary theologian Vardan Aygekc'i, *VA* 1968,

We find the following written about the *araġaworac'* fast. When Trdat and St. Gregory went to Rome and made a pact of concordance, [they, i.e. Romans] established the fast of *araġaworac'* in its month in order to honour Trdat and the Illuminator, to be observed instead of the fast of Constantine. And we [on our part] honoured Sylvester and Constantine, and at the completion of the [fast of] *araġaworac'* [observed by] Trdat and Constantine, we celebrated with them and they with us.<sup>112</sup>

This common tradition, according to Mxit'ar, was broken by the Roman side because of the Council of Chalcedon, but the Armenian Church kept it intact. It is not clear what Mxit'ar means by 'the fast of Constantine.' Further on in his *Letter* Mxit'ar speaks again about similarities in the Roman and Armenian Churches. It is curious that he affirms that the Roman Church did not accept the Council of Chalcedon either.<sup>113</sup> According to him—and this is the other interesting aspect for our study—this is why the Roman Church also celebrates the Eucharist with unleavened bread and with pure wine, not mixed with water. Most likely, Mxit'ar was aware that both Armenian and Roman Churches used unleavened bread for the Eucharistic celebration. He then added the use of unmixed wine, which, however is not accurate. We shall see below that he was not alone in this conviction. The point to emphasise is that, here again, he appealed to the practices in the Roman Church, whether he cited those accurately or not, in order to justify those of the Armenian Church. Moreover, Mxit'ar says:

And it is a tradition since Peter, Apostle of the Romans, to celebrate with unleavened bread. And our Illuminator, Gregory, taking it from the Romans, passed [this] tradition to Armenians.<sup>114</sup>

One can see how this reasoning, i.e. tracing Armenian ecclesiastical traditions back to the Apostle Peter himself, could be considered by contemporaries as a potent counter-argument in Roman-Armenian discussions on the necessity for liturgical reforms in the Armenian Church. Creating a direct link between the Apostle Peter and the Armenian Church would resurface also in the *Letter of Love*. Mxit'ar's argumentation was taken

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273–277, and the *Synodal Discourse* of St. Nersēs Lambronac'i. This was one of the trends of the time, expressed in other contemporary sources as well, such as the Syrian Patriarch Michael the Great, as mentioned above (cfr pp. 32–33 and note 93).

<sup>112</sup> MG 1901, 121–122.

<sup>113</sup> He may be referring to and exaggerating the Roman refusal to accept Canon No. 28 of the Council of Chalcedon, which was instrumental in elevating the status of the See of Constantinople—New Rome.

<sup>114</sup> MG 1901, 55–56.

up by other theologians. His student, Vanakan Vardapet (1181–1251), repeated his master, paraphrasing him somewhat, in his treatise on the *araġaworac* 'fast:

Our holy Illuminator, Gregory, when he came out of the pit, professed by teaching King [Trdat] and the people for sixty<sup>115</sup> days. Then, he ordered to fast for five days with purity. And it was summertime. And St. Sylvester, when he baptised Constantine, administered a five-day fast for him and the people. And the two established this [fast] as [a token of] concordance between them. And they [Romans] let theirs be lost. But we remained firm in ours and preserved it with the grace of Christ.<sup>116</sup>

The issue of this fast was not brought forth in Roman-Armenian correspondence of the twelfth or early thirteenth century, although it would be later on. However, we can observe from the treatises quoted above that Armenian theologians now paid more attention to the usages of the Roman Church as a way of justifying their own particularities. At the same time, they also claimed to have preserved these common traditions in their pristine state. Another influential theologian from late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Cilicia, Vardan Aygekc'i, a staunch supporter of the independence of the Armenian Church, wrote in a dogmatic letter, not long after 1198, that St. Gregory's confession of faith and the ecclesiastical traditions that he established in Armenia had their sources in Caesarea, Rome and Jerusalem.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, similar to Mxit'ar Goš, Vardan Aygekc'i insisted that the practice of not mixing water with

<sup>115</sup> Other mss. have 'sixty-five', cfr Yovhannēs Vanakan 1959, 35–44, quotation on p. 42. In Vanakan Vardapet's treatise it is evident that this argument was new, since he says 'And again we have a new reason [for keeping this fast]'; Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Anasyan 1968, 233–277. In this article Anasyan published a dogmatic letter of Aygekc'i, *Vasn aniraw bambasotac' ekelec'woys Hayastaneayc'* [Regarding unjust slanderers of the Church of Armenia], 272–272. Cfr pp. 248 and 272 for the quote above, 243 for dating. This work was written almost contemporaneously with a dogmatic writing, similar to the *Seal of Faith*, called the *Root of Faith*. The first, autograph copy of the *Root of Faith* was finished in 1205, which Anasyan considers as the *terminus ante quem* for the work *Regarding the unjust slanderers*. Armenia had close connections to the See of Caesarea at least since St. Gregory the Illuminator, who received his ordination from Leontius, Bishop of Caesarea, cfr Amadouni 1968, 141–150. For the relationship between Armenia and the Church of Jerusalem, cfr above p. 25, note 69; also Thomson 1986, 77–91. Jerusalem as the source of Armenian traditions and the true faith was very frequently brought forth in Georgian-Armenian discussions in the late sixth and the early seventh century. The concept that the Roman Church was also a source of Armenian traditions along with Caesarea and Jerusalem became diffused at the end of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as this chapter attempts to demonstrate.

wine and using the unleavened bread was found also in Rome and was a tradition established by the Apostle Peter. St. Gregory adopted this practice instituted by Peter and the Armenian Church alone kept it intact. Vardan Aygekc'i was present at the coronation ceremony of Prince Levon II and he insisted that during the ceremony, Conrad, the Archbishop of Mainz—the papal legate charged with crowning Levon and bringing about the union of Armenian and Roman Churches—used unmixed wine during the Eucharistic celebration, something that seems highly unlikely.<sup>118</sup> Vardan Aygekc'i's letter is a clear example of how theologians of his time reacted to the insistence of Roman Popes on liturgical changes. Having stated that Gregory had established traditions found in Caesarea, Rome and Jerusalem, he then added:

And although there entered some weaknesses in the Armenian Church with regard to rites and feasts ... the [following] three precepts [were] never abandoned in the Church of Armenia: the confession of faith, the celebration of the Birth of Christ and [his] Baptism in one day of January 6th, and the celebration of the Eucharist with unleavened bread and [wine] without water.<sup>119</sup>

We may briefly bring forth two other writers from the thirteenth century in order to demonstrate how far this mode of argumentation had gone and how widely diffused it was. Kirakos Ganjakec'i, an ardent anti-Chalcedonian historian of the thirteenth century, a student of Vanakan Vardapet, who considered the Union of 1198 as an act of King Levon's political opportunism rather than any sincere ecclesiastical agreement,<sup>120</sup> used the *Letter of Love and Concord* as one of his sources, possibly relying also on oral versions stemming from it, which had different elements than those written down in TD. He wrote that St. Gregory received the 'dignity of a patriarch' from St. Sylvester, thus again recognizing the importance of Rome at the inception of Armenian Christianity, as well as accepting the idea that the Bishop of Rome could have the authority to give the high rank of the Patriarch to the head of the Armenian Church.<sup>121</sup> His attitude

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<sup>118</sup> Anasyan 1968, 248 and 256. This information may imply that the Eucharist celebrated at the coronation ceremony was performed not by Conrad but the Armenian Catholicos who used unmixed wine as was the usual Armenian practice. Even so, it is interesting that during a joint celebration of the Eucharist a Papal legate would concede to this Armenian liturgical usage which was problematic from the Roman point of view. Further research may spread more light on this tangled issue.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, 248.

<sup>120</sup> KG, 157.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, 11. Ganjakec'i was familiar with the *Letter of Love*, but in his *History* he

to the Union signed by Levon and the Armenian bishops shows, however, that Kirakos, like most of his contemporaries, would refuse to accept any type of juridical authority of the Roman Church over the Armenian Church in his own time.<sup>122</sup> Vardan Arewelc'i (called also Mec or Great), a friend of Kirakos and a student of the same Vanakan Vardapet, also cited the *Letter of Love and Concord* in his *Historical Compilation* and in his *Panegyric* to St. Gregory the Illuminator.<sup>123</sup> He, however, tried to give a different meaning to the meeting of Constantine and St. Sylvester with Trdat and St. Gregory. Both in his *Historical Compilation* and in the *Panegyric* he speaks about the episode of Trdat's and St. Gregory's visit to Rome. While in the *Panegyric* it is acknowledged that Trdat and Gregory went to Rome with 'obedience', Gregory's role as the teacher of Constantine is emphasised. We read:

Then Constantine with great awe and respect learned in [proper] order the orthodox faith and confession from our Holy father [i.e. Gregory] as if from the Holy Spirit itself.<sup>124</sup>

It must be noted that here, in Vardan's *Panegyric*, the order of things is reversed: it was not Rome that was the source of Armenian orthodoxy, but St. Gregory who taught orthodoxy to Constantine. This notion is also present in the *Letter of Love and Concord*, which describes that St. Gregory's confession of faith was sent to all the Churches of the Roman Empire as the standard doctrine. However, the *Letter* is more balanced in that it also accepts that St. Gregory was consecrated by St. Sylvester, thus recognizing some kind of—if only honorary—hierarchical link between the Churches of Rome and Armenia. This aspect is absent in Vardan's

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mentioned elements not found in TD as we have it today. Possibly he knew a different, perhaps oral, version related to a pact of alliance between Constantine and Trdat. But his reference to St. Sylvester's ordination of St. Gregory could have easily stemmed also from TD.

<sup>122</sup> On the use of the *Letter of Love* by Kirakos Ganjakec'i and Vardan Arewelc'i, cfr Hovhannisyan, 1957 and Thomson 1997, 285–286 (where the section of Ganjakec'i's text on the visit of Gregory and Trdat to Rome is fully translated into English).

<sup>123</sup> Vardan Vardapet 1862; Vardan Vardapet 1853. In this edition the *Panegyric* is ascribed to Vardan Vardapet Barjraberdc'i without specifying which Vardan Barjraberdc'i. The author of the *Panegyric* is rightly identified as Vardan Arewelc'i by Polarean 1971B, 297. In fact the two texts have many stylistic and linguistic affinities, including several identical passages. It is interesting to note that in another *Panegyric* dedicated to St. Gregory, that of the eleventh-century author Yovhannēs Sarkawag, there is no mention of the voyage to Rome or the meeting of Trdat and St. Gregory with Constantine and St. Sylvester. YS 1853.

<sup>124</sup> Vardan Vardapet 1853, 68 and Vardan Vardapet 1862, 40.

*Historical Compilation* or *Panegyric*. On the contrary, Vardan calls St. Gregory and St. Sylvester 'two popes',<sup>125</sup> thus emphasising their equality without any apology.

Vardan Arewelc'i was the first Armenian theologian to have systematically refuted all demands presented by Innocent IV (1243–1254) to the Armenian King Het'um I (1226–1270). He wrote a letter to King Het'um as a reply to Innocent's Legate, Dominic of Aragon, on the request of the contemporary Catholicos Konstantin Barjraberdc'i (1228–1267), in the year 1246.<sup>126</sup> This first systematic refutation of the primacy of the Roman Church also took place in a different political context. The Mongol armies had arrived as far as Anatolia and Het'um I intended to send his brother Smbat to the Mongol court at Qara Qorum to voluntarily submit to the Great Khan.<sup>127</sup> The attitude of the Armenian Church to the Roman Church in this period has been characterised as that of a 'prudent distance'.<sup>128</sup>

The first issue raised in Vardan's reply-letter was that of the Roman primacy. Vardan fully refutes the idea that only the See of Rome had the authority to bind and loose on earth and that all Churches should submit to it.<sup>129</sup> Based on Biblical quotations, Vardan spells out that all Churches had the same prerogative. He emphasises that the Armenian Church, like that of Rome, could also boast apostolic foundations and thus should be considered to be of equal dignity.<sup>130</sup> The *Letter* of Vardan also contains

<sup>125</sup> Vardan Vardapet 1853, 78; Idem 1862, 46 is even more specific in saying that 'St. Gregory the Illuminator was called Pope in Rome, equal to the one who occupies the Chair of the Apostle Peter'. The TD also calls St. Gregory 'Pope, Patriarch and Hayrapet' at 19.18.

<sup>126</sup> BL, 503–509. For a detailed exposition of Vardan's refutations see, Halfter-Schmidt 2003, 102–115, and 94 where the authors state that this letter was a reply to Innocent IV's famous Papal Bull of 1245 to the Oriental nations *Cum simus super*. The authors think that Vardan's letter was most likely intended for internal use only and not as an official reply to the Pope.

<sup>127</sup> The voyage of Constable Smbat is dated to 1246–1248 by Galstyan 1961, 47–55. Smbat was probably present at the enthronisation ceremony of Güyük, the third Great Khan, as the Friar John of Pian di Carpine mentions a representative of the King of Armenia present at this event. Cfr de Rachewiltz 1971, 98.

<sup>128</sup> Mikayelyan 1952, 298–305 on the Armenian-Mongol relationship in this period. See also Hamilton 1978, 81 and Canard 1967.

<sup>129</sup> This idea is present also in the *Letter of Love and Concord* but in a different way. It was Pope Sylvester who conferred the prerogative 'to bind and loose on earth and in heaven' to St. Gregory the Illuminator. TD, 24.6–10. Vardan's argument is stronger in that he assumes that this authority was given by *Christ* to all the Apostles, and not through any other intermediary. BL, 503.

<sup>130</sup> BL, 504.

refutations of other dogmatic precepts, such as the *filioque* formula,<sup>131</sup> the Roman concept of the Purgatory and on the creation of souls, the Chalcedonian Christology, etc. As a final proof of his orthodoxy Vardan adds:

Let them bring forth to us the faith of Peter, Sylvester, Celestine and Julius. If we don't accept the confession of faith of such guides, let us take excommunication from God and from them.<sup>132</sup>

Thus, Vardan followed the general tendency of both refuting the contemporary Roman concept of ecclesiastical supremacy or other philosophical-dogmatic ideas that were current in the contemporary Western Christianity, and at the same time, of not shying away from insisting that the first Latin Church Fathers, and particularly pre-Chalcedonian Roman Popes, could be considered as guides of the Armenian faith itself.

Many scholars consider the period of Armenian and Mongol military cooperation, particularly from 1260 to 1288 when Rome was against such a political move, as the most vulnerable period in Roman-Armenian relations. It is significant that despite the invitation, Armenians were not present at the Council of Lyon of 1274.<sup>133</sup> Having declared submission to a superb military power, the Armenians for a brief while felt no political need to cherish the Union with the Church of Rome and thus expressed their own ideas with more freedom.<sup>134</sup> It was at this time that the latent tension due to the difference in the concept of union of the two sides culminated into a more open confrontation, as is evident in Vardan Arewelc'i's letter. It is even more explicit in a dialogue-argument that took place between an Armenian legate of Catholicos Konstantine Barjraberdci—Mxit'ar Skewrac'i or Mxit'ar from Dashir, and a papal legate.<sup>135</sup> To the legate's insistence on the primacy of the Roman Church, Mxit'ar responded very clearly:

Where does the Church of Rome have the authority to judge other apostolic Sees and herself not be examined by others? Since we have full powers to judge you in the example of the apostles and you cannot criticise us [for doing so].<sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> On this issue, cfr La Porta 2004.

<sup>132</sup> *BL*, 509.

<sup>133</sup> Hamilton 1978, 82.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*, 81–83; Halfter 1996, 307–317, esp. 313.

<sup>135</sup> Mekhithar de Daschir 1869, 691–698.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*, 697.



It seemed that such confrontational attitudes would put an end to a more flexible relationship between Roman and Armenian Churches. Yet, the situation at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century brought new tensions. Armenia was thrust between two belligerent military powers, the Il-Khanid Mongols and the Mamluks of Egypt. Thus, as in previous years, it also in this period had to play a balancing act between these, now different, powers in order to survive. As a result, many in Cilician Armenia turned their hopes to the West towards the end of the thirteenth century and took measures to reassure the Pope of their adherence to the Union of 1198. This *rapprochement* took place in a context of Papal diplomacy's moves towards a possible alliance with the Mongols. This opened a different stage in the history of Armenian-Roman relations and between the different currents within the Armenian Church itself, which, however, are beyond the scope of this study.

### 1.3. CONCLUSIONS

For the Armenians, one outcome of closer contacts with the Roman Church was a more thorough understanding of the concept of 'union' between churches as envisaged by representatives of the Church of Rome. For the Roman side it meant that the other church agreed to accept the Roman authority not only in the honorary, but also in the juridical sense. It was felt in Rome that changes could and should be demanded to be introduced in the Armenian Church. The Armenians, on the other hand, recognised the authority of the Roman Church only in its honorary sense. As they learned more about the Roman concept of primacy—from experience and a longer cohabitation in Cilicia—Armenian theologians developed new ways of arguing for the independence of their Church as well as the orthodoxy of her faith and liturgical practices. First, they emphasised the idea of equality, both religious and political, between Armenians and Latins. Then they accepted some of the Roman concepts, particularly admitting that either the Church of Rome or the first Roman pontiffs could have acted as sources of the Armenian doctrine and even its autocephaly. Thus they recognised, consciously or not, the validity of the Roman concept of *Roma magister ecclesiarum*. Besides, in their arguments they appealed to the usages in the Roman Church, either correctly or not, in order to justify peculiar liturgical practices of the Armenian Church. This type of argumentation was not a common feature of

the Armenian dogmatic sources prior to the twelfth century and may be considered an important innovation in Armenian polemical literature of this period. However, while Armenian sources emphasised the equality between the two Churches, Armenian theologians never ceased to insist that the Armenians had kept intact those traditions that originally could have come from Rome itself. Thus, they felt that there was no need to introduce any changes in their own time. We know that, nevertheless, there were many new liturgical elements that entered the Armenian Church exactly during the Cilician period.

The *Letter of Love and Concord* and its political and ecclesiological ideology, which are aimed at accepting some Roman primacy, but above all stressing the importance and great authority of the Armenian Kingdom and of the Armenian Catholicossate, fit into this context. The *Letter of Love* also admits that Rome possesses certain political and ecclesiastical supremacy, but at the same time insists on the vast powers of the Armenian King and Catholicos. This source, long despised for its 'legendary' character, incorporates ideas and concepts that were developed in Armenian political and ecclesiastical circles in the second half of the twelfth century and can serve as a guide to understanding the 'wishful thinking' of the Armenian religious and political elite in Cilicia at the end of the twelfth century.



***THE LETTER OF LOVE AND CONCORD***

**(Armenian and English)**

331<sup>r</sup> Թուղթ սիրոյ և միաբանութեան մեծի կայսերն Կոստանդիանոսի և սուրբ պապուն Սեդրեստրոսի և Տրդատայ՝ հայոց արքայի, և սրբոյն Գրիգորի՝ հայոց Լուսաւորչի

1. Կամաւք և կարողութեամբ համագոյ Սուրբ Երրորդութեան՝ Հաւր անհասի և անիմանալոյ, և Միածնի Որդւոյ նորա՝ Տեառն մերոյ և Փրկչին Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի, և կենդանարար և ազատիչ Սուրբ Հոգւոյն: Այս կտակ կայսերական, Աստուծով հաստատուն և անփոխադրական, որ զծագրեցաւ հզաւր հրամանաւ ինքնակալ և մշտայաղթ կայսեր Կոստանդիանոսի 5 Մեծի և աւգոստոսափառ թագաւորաց թագաւորի տիեզերատարած և աշխարհածաւալ, իւրոխտ և անխոնարհելի իշխանութեանս հռոմայեցոց,

1 Թուղթ՝ զիր AT թուխթ BgM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>9</sub> թուխտ F<sub>5</sub> 1 մեծի՝ f. + ն F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 1 կայսերն՝ om F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> f. om T 1 Կոստանդիանոսի՝ + կայսերն F<sub>5</sub> 1 սուրբ՝ սրբոյն B om C 2 պապուն՝ om B պապին F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>y հայրապետիս T 2 Սեդրեստրոսի՝ սեդաւետրոսի F<sub>3</sub> սեդրեստրիոս I 2 Տրդատայ՝ տրտատայ B 2 հայոց՝ f. + u AT om y 2 արքայի՝ f. + ն AB<sup>EF</sup><sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> արագի F<sub>3</sub> թագաւորին y 2 և՝ om C 2-3 սրբոյն Գրիգորի՝ հայոց Լուսաւորչի՝ + և սուրբ հայրապետին b + հայոց F<sub>5</sub> սուրբ լուսաւորչին գրիկ[ն]րի g գտուրբ լուսաւորչին գրիգորի K սուրբ լուսաւորչին գրիգորի M<sub>2</sub>m + և սուրբ հայրապետին որ ի վաղարշապատ սուրբ Էջմիածինն S<sub>1</sub> սրբոյն գրիգորի y 3 հայոց՝ om A<sup>F</sup><sub>5</sub>T 3 Լուսաւորչի՝ f. + ն A<sup>T</sup>F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 1.1 կարողութեամբ՝ ողորմութեամբ D<sub>g</sub>Ey ողորմութիւն I 1 Երրորդութեան՝ + հօր և որդւոյ և սուրբ հոգւոյն g<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m + հօր և որդւոյ և հոգւոյն սրբոյ K 1 Հաւր՝ f. + ն I 2 անհասի՝ f. + ն F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 2 և՝ om y 2 անիմանալոյ՝ անիմանալի B<sub>g2</sub> f. + ն F<sub>5</sub> 2 Միածնի՝ միածնոյ T 2 Միածնի Որդւոյ նորա՝ որդոյ միածնի B<sup>E</sup>y որդոյ նորա միածնի bS<sub>1</sub> որդոյն միածնի I 2 և Փրկչին՝ om B<sub>g</sub> 3 Հոգւոյն՝ + ամեն A<sub>g</sub>bF<sub>5</sub> f. om y 3 Այս՝ + մեր B<sub>g</sub>C + է մեր S<sub>1</sub> 3 կտակ՝ f. + u F<sub>3</sub>y 4 որ՝ և B<sub>g</sub> 4 զծագրեցաւ՝ զծագրեցաւ F<sub>3</sub> գործեցաւ g 5 հզաւր՝ + ինքնակալ C ditt E յաղթող F<sub>3</sub> 5 հզաւր հրամանաւ՝ հրամանաւ հզօր և F<sub>5</sub> 5 մշտայաղթ՝ միշտ հզօր F<sub>3</sub> միշտ յաղթող F<sub>5</sub> 5 կայսեր՝ f. + u FF<sub>3</sub> 5 Կոստանդիանոսի՝ Կոստանդիանոսի E 6 Մեծի՝ f. է F<sub>5</sub> f. om KM<sub>2</sub>my 6 աւգոստոսափառ՝ աւգոստափառ AB<sup>b</sup>EF<sub>5</sub>Ty ոգոստափառ C օգոստոսայ փառաց F<sub>3</sub> 6 թագաւորի՝ f. ն F<sub>3</sub> 6 տիեզերատարած՝ տիեզերածագ B<sub>g</sub> 7 աշխարհածաւալ՝ աշխարհակալ A<sub>g</sub> 7 իւրոխտ՝ om C խորոխտ F<sub>3</sub> խրոխտ y 7 իշխանութեանս՝ i. + j b f. om E 7 հռոմայեցոց՝ հռոմայեցոց bEF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> հռովմայեցոց C հռովմայեցոց g<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub> հռովմայեցոց I

1 Կոստանդի + անոսի m<sup>L</sup> b 3 + վ{ա}ս{ն} գնալոյ Տրդատայ և սբ Լուսաւորչին ի ստմբալ և միաբանեցան with a different *notgir* hand mg<sup>B</sup> N<sub>9</sub> 3 + միաբան{ու}թե{ան} զիրն mg<sup>B</sup> F 3 + Agathangelos mg<sup>R</sup> A 1.1-7 repeats twice, the same hand, no variations C 4 կաւերական + 2<sup>0</sup> j w<sup>A</sup> N<sub>9</sub>; հաստատուն + 2<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> T 5 կոստանդիանոսի crossed out 9<sup>0</sup> ն C

Letter of Love and Concord between the Great Emperor Constantine and the Holy Pope Sylvester and Trdat, King of the Armenians, and St. Gregory, the Illuminator of the Armenians<sup>1</sup>

1. With the will and power<sup>2</sup> of the co-essential Holy Trinity—the unreachable and unknowable Father, his Only Begotten son, our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ, and the life-giving and liberating Holy Spirit. This [is] an imperial testament, confirmed and made unchangeable by God, which was written by the mighty order of [myself], the autokrator and always victorious Emperor Constantine the Great, the augustly glorious King of Kings of the universal<sup>3</sup> and world-wide, superb and

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<sup>1</sup> I have used standard English versions for commonly known names, such as Constantine, Sylvester, Gregory, St. James, David, etc. For specifically Armenian names (except for Gregory), or those names which have idiosyncratic forms in this text or are not commonly known, I use their Armenian transcription, e.g. Mak'sintēs, Ašxen, etc.

<sup>2</sup> All B family mss have *mercy* instead.

<sup>3</sup> While the A family has a word which literally signifies 'spread in the whole universe', the B family's variant literally means 'untill the edges of the universe'.

որ զարութեամբ ճշմարտին Աստուծոյ տիրեմ տիեզերաց, ի ծագաց  
ովկիանոսի՝ ահագին ծովուս, մինչև յելս արևու, յաղթող զարութեամբ  
պարծանաց խաչիս Քրիստոսի:

10

2. Այսպէս և ստորագրեցաւ հրովարտակս հրամանաւ իմով՝ մեծի պապուս  
հռոմայեցոց Եւսեբիոսի, որ և Սեղբեստրոս, աթոռակալի գլխաւորաց  
առաքելոցս՝ սրբոց Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի, որ երկնաւոր և երկրաւոր

8 տիրեմ] om  $A_{g2}$  տիրեն  $F_5$  9 ովկիանոսի] f. է  $F_3F_5$  i. + j  $F_5$  9 ահագին] i. + j  
I 9 ծովուս] ծովէս  $F_3F_5$  f. om  $g_gK_gM_2m$  9 մինչև] f. om C մեծ և  $\gamma$  9 յելս] +  $\rho_{ant}$   
 $AA_1BbCFF_3F_5N_2N_9y$  i. om  $EF_3$  10 խաչիս] f. և  $A_g\gamma$  2.1 Այսպէս և] սապէս AT  
սա ապէս և CF սայապէս և  $D_gEN_2$  սայսպէս և  $F_3$  սապէս և  $F_5$  սայ ապապէս և Iy  
սայապէս  $N_9$  1 ստորագրեցաւ] f. p  $F_3F_5$  1 հրովարտակս] om b հրովարտաքս  
 $EF_3$  1 իմով] + հրովարտակս b om C 1 պապուս] պապոյս  $B_{g2}F_5$  2 հռոմայեցոց]  
հռովմայեցոց  $B_gKM_2mN_2$  հռոմայեցոց b  $ES_1$  հռովմաեցոց CI հռոմայ  $F_3$  հռոմայ  
 $F_5$  հռովմացս  $\gamma$  2 Եւսեբիոսի] f. om b  $S_1$  եւսեբիոսի E եւսեպիոս  $F_3$  om  $F_5$  2 որ]  
om  $F_5$  2 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոսի E f. + ի  $F_5$  սեղբեստրիոս I սեղբե[...]  
T 2 աթոռակալի] f. + u  $F_5$  f. om T 2 գլխաւորաց] գլխաւոր  $B_gF_5$  +  $\rho_{ant}$   $F_3$   
3 առաքելոցս] f. և  $A_gEF_3F_5$  3 սրբոց] om  $AA_gB_g$  omt որ C սրբոյն  $F_3$  3 որ] om E  
+ և  $F_3$  3 երկնաւոր և երկրաւոր] երկրաւոր և երկնաւոր  $gK_gM_2m$  3 երկրաւոր]  
երկրաւորաց  $F_3$

3 + ա{ռա}ք{ե}լ{ո}ցն պ{ե}տրոսի և պօղոսի որ երկնաւոր  $m^L$  K

unbending dominion of the Romans, who with the power of the true God dominates<sup>4</sup> the universe, from the edges of the great sea—the Ocean—until the point where the sun rises, victorious with the power of the Cross of the glory of Christ.

2. And<sup>5</sup> thus, this edict was signed by my order, the great Pope of the Romans, Eusebius, who is also Sylvester,<sup>6</sup> the holder of the chair of the chief apostles, Saints Peter and Paul,<sup>7</sup> who with earthly and heavenly

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<sup>4</sup> This Section is narrated in the first person singular; the narrator is Constantine. Some of the expressions used to qualify Constantine, such as 'always victorious' or 'augustly glorious', as well as the reference to the universal domain of the Romans, are reminiscent of *Constitutum Constantini*, CC 1968, 56.5–6 and 57. 10–11: 'victor ac triumphator, semper augustus' and 'imperialem constitutionem subiectis in universo orbe terrarum ....'

<sup>5</sup> In this Section the narration is still in the first person singular but the narrator is now Sylvester/Eusebius.

<sup>6</sup> The author of TD attempted to reconcile diverse traditions related to Constantine the Great: one focused on his baptism in Rome by Pope Sylvester (about which he could read in the *Vita Silvestri* but also in the CC) and the other, historically more accurate one, on his relationship with and eventual baptism by Eusebius of Nicomedia. Moreover, the name Eusebius is found in Agat'angelos as the bishop who meets Trdat and Gregory when they arrive in Rome. Aa §875 and Vg §182.2 (Garitte 1946, p. 110). Among later historians it is repeated also by Uxtanēs, who specifically mentions the alliance between Trdat and Constantine, and Eusebius and Gregory. Cfr Uxtanēs 1871, 106–107. Bartikian thinks that the name Eusebius refers to the bishop of Nicomedia and can serve for determining the *terminus ante quem* of the 'original core' of TD, that is before 318 (the date when Eusebius became bishop of Nicomedia). Cfr Bartikian 2004, 93–95. However, there is a general tendency in TD to harmonise traditions of diverse origins related to the four main 'actors' of this covenant, as well as other historical or legendary characters related to them, such as Saints Hrip'simē, Nino, etc. The 'identification' of Eusebius with Sylvester is the first among many such examples. Confronted with the names of two Bishops—Eusebius and Sylvester—who were or could have been in Rome (in the case of Sylvester as the Bishop of Rome) during the visit of Trdat and Gregory there, he resolved the problem by presenting the two names as referring to one and the same person. The name of Eusebius can be explained based on TD's author's sources and does not have to stem from a fourth century 'original core'.

<sup>7</sup> While the concept that the Pope was the holder of the Chair of St. Peter, along with that of the Petrine primacy, was especially solidified in the eleventh century, the idea that the Pope was the successor of both Apostles Peter and Paul was developed throughout the twelfth century. A certain Byzantine influence is also possible in TD, since according to it the two apostles were held in the same high esteem in an anti-Roman and anti-Petrine key. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 92–93 for a more detailed discussion. The idea that Sylvester was the successor of the Apostles Peter and Paul is found also in *Vita Silvestri*, SSEH 692 and the vision of Apostles Peter and Paul who appear to Constantine the Great is a major theme in CC. In one of his poems dedicated to St. Hrip'simē, Nersēs Šnorhali also refers to Apostles Peter and Paul together as two apostles of Rome. Cfr NS 1928, 512, 513.



բանալեալքդ ունիմ իշխանութիւն յարևմտից մինչև յարևելս, ի վերայ  
 331<sup>v</sup> ամենայն ազգաց և ազանց և լեզուաց քրիստոսադաւանից, կապող | և 5  
 արձակող յերկինս և յերկրի, և հրամանահան հզար յընդհանուր եկեղեցիս  
 Քրիստոսի:

3. Ուստի ի հրաւիրմանէ Հոգւոյն Սրբոյ հասին առ մեզ [հ]զարքն հայոց՝  
 մեծն Յովհաննէս, որ և Տրդատէս արքայ հայոց, և կենդանի վկայն Քրիստոսի  
 և մեծ խոստովանողն, սրբազնակատար կաթողիկոսն, տէր սուրբ Գրիգոր  
 Լուսաւորիչն ամենայն արևելից և հիւսիսոյ, սիրելի եղբարքս մեր ի  
 Քրիստոս և բուն բարեկամքս բարձրագահ իշխանութեանս մերոյ և հաւա- 5  
 տարիմ հազարապետքս խորին խորհրդոց մերոց, ժառանգակալք աշխար-  
 հակալ և տիեզերասաստ արքայից արքայութեան Արշակունեաց:

4 բանալեալքդ] f. u AbCEFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>IT f. om A<sub>g</sub> բանալալքս B f. տ F բնաւօքս γ 4 ունիմ]  
 f. + p F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 4 յարևմտից] i. om F<sub>5</sub> 4 յարևմտից մինչև յարևելս] յարևելից մինչև ի  
 մուտս F<sub>3</sub> յարևելս γ 4 յարևելս] i. om AIK 5 ազգաց] omt քրիստոսադաւանից  
 A<sub>g</sub> ազգեաց F<sub>3</sub> 5 և ազանց] om C 5 քրիստոսադաւանից] քրիստոսադաւանաց  
 b 6 յերկինս] + ի<sub>ant</sub> AA<sub>1</sub>BbEFF<sub>3</sub>gKM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>Ty 6 յերկրի] + ի<sub>ant</sub> AA<sub>1</sub>BbEFF<sub>3</sub>gKM<sub>2</sub>N<sub>2</sub>  
 i. om S<sub>1</sub> 6 հրամանահան] + և T 6 հրամանահան հզար] հզօր հրամանահան  
 bS<sub>1</sub> 6 յընդհանուր] յընթհանուր ABbEgM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> յընթանուր CIKTy i. om F<sub>5</sub>  
 6 եկեղեցիս] i. + j BFF<sub>5</sub>mT 3.1 Ուստի] + և A<sub>g</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> i. ա γ 1 հրաւիրմանէ]  
 om ի<sub>ant</sub> F<sub>3</sub>S<sub>1</sub> հրամանէ T 1 Հոգւոյն Սրբոյ] սուրբ հոգւոյն B<sub>g</sub> 1 հասին]  
 հազին F<sub>3</sub> 1 [հ]զարքն] զարքն AA<sub>1</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T f. om CFF<sub>3</sub> 1 հայոց] omt և  
 կենդանի A<sub>g</sub>2 f. + և F<sub>3</sub> 2 Յովհաննէս] յոհաննէս AbCEFIT յոհանէս BCy ոհանէս  
 F<sub>3</sub> յովաննէս F<sub>5</sub>g 2 և] է B 2 Տրդատէս] տրտատ B f. + u E 2 արքայ] f. +  
 և F<sub>3</sub> om g<sub>g</sub> 2 կենդանի] om I 3 խոստովանողն] խոստովանողսն E omt տէր  
 FF<sub>3</sub> 3 սրբազնակատար] սրբասնակատար bS<sub>1</sub> 3 կաթողիկոսն] կաթողիկոսն  
 BCEg 3 սուրբ] om FF<sub>3</sub> 4 Լուսաւորիչն] f. om γ 4 ամենայն] i. + j F<sub>3</sub> 4 արևելից]  
 i. + j K 4 և] + ի F<sub>3</sub> 4 հիւսիսոյ] հիւսւսոյ ACFIM<sub>2</sub> հիւսւսոյ Bmy հիւսիւսոյ  
 gE 4 եղբարքս] f. om CFF<sub>3</sub>T եղբայրքս EF<sub>5</sub>K 4-5 ի Քրիստոս] om F<sub>5</sub> om ի<sub>ant</sub>  
 I 5 բարեկամքս] Incipit A<sub>1</sub> 5 բարձրագահ] բարձագահ M<sub>2</sub>m 5 մերոյ]  
 omt ժառանգակալքս A 5 և] om B<sub>g</sub> 6 հազարապետքս] հազարապետս F<sub>5</sub>  
 6 խորին] om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 6 ժառանգակալք] f. + u AA<sub>g</sub>CFTy f. om B<sub>g</sub>2 ժառանգակալքս F<sub>3</sub>  
 ժառանգակալս F<sub>5</sub> ժառանգակալ I 6-7 աշխար[հ]ակալ] om B<sub>g</sub>2 + տիեզերակալ  
 և F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> աշխարակալ N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 7 արքայից] f. + η F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 7 արքայութեան] f. + և C  
 7 Արշակունեաց] f. + η F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>

keys has authority from West to East, over all nations and peoples and languages who profess Christ, to bind and loose on earth and on heaven and to command the powerful and universal Church of Christ.<sup>8</sup>

3. Thus,<sup>9</sup> by the invitation of the Holy Spirit, the mighty<sup>10</sup> Armenians—the great Yovhannēs, who is also Trdatēs,<sup>11</sup> King of the Armenians, and the living martyr of Christ<sup>12</sup> and the great confessor, perfect in holiness, Catholicos lord St. Gregory, the Illuminator of the entire East and the North, our dear brothers in Christ and true friends of our lofty power, loyal generals of our deepest secrets, heirs of the kings of the Kingdom of the Aršakunis who held the world and tamed the universe—reached us.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The reference to Mat. 16.19: 'Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, etc.' is found in CC. That the Pope held the heavenly and the earthly keys as the successor of Apostle Peter was a well-developed concept in the Roman Church by the eleventh century. This papal prerogative is specifically mentioned in two extant papal letters addressed to the Armenian catholicos, i.e. by Lucius III writing to Grigor Tlay in 1184 (Ananian 1996, 215) and by Pope Innocent III to Catholicos Grigor Apirat in 1199 (Haluščynskyj 1946, 199). A further similarity with CC in this section is the reference to the Pope as the commander of the universal Church of Christ.

<sup>9</sup> The narration is in the first person plural. While the narrators can be both Constantine and Sylvester together, it is more likely that it is Constantine alone and that *pluralis majestatis* is employed. That the narrator is Constantine becomes clear in Section 5 when he tells that an imperial edict was issued at his command.

<sup>10</sup> Almost all A family mss have *the army of the Armenians*. I have emended the base text here. For discussion cfr Chapter 3, pp. 237–238.

<sup>11</sup> To my knowledge the only other source which mentions the name Yovhannēs in connection to King Trdat is the Third Recension of PA. Here it is clarified that Yovhannēs was the name that King Trdat received at his baptism. Cfr ms M2270, 179<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> St. Gregory is named 'martyr' in Vg 174.3 (Garitte 1946, 106) and 'martyr of Christ' in Aa §876 on the occasion of his visit to Rome.

<sup>13</sup> These honorific titles, read in the light of what Constantine had to say about his own universal rule, provide a backdrop where the Armenian King Trdat looks no less powerful than the Roman Emperor and the Armenian catholicos St. Gregory the Illuminator, no less holy than his Roman 'colleague' St. Sylvester. The word 'brother' in relation to Trdat will be repeated more than once in the text and on one occasion in its Old French form *frère*. Bartikian 2004, 105–106 rightly suggests that this should be read as a technical term, denoting the relationship of equality between the Roman Emperor and the Armenian King. While I fully agree with this suggestion, the appearance of such a technical term in this text can hardly be used as proof that the text's original core goes back to the fourth century, since the same terminology was used in the Byzantine Empire (as Bartikian himself cites) and an author living in Cilicia would easily know of such an important aspect of political ideology still valid for his time.

4. Ժամանեցին ի տեսութիւն տեղոյս տէրունական տանս արևմտեան և արևելաժառանգ սրբոց և զլիաւորաց առաքելոցս, և փոխանորդի սոցա՝ պատուեալ պապիս պերճապսակ, և կայսերս նորընծայ ի հաւատս Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ, և մեծի ղշխոյիս Հեղինէի, հզար թագուհոյս, և ծիրանածին զարդու զաւակաց զաւրացելոյս: Ընդ որս հրճուեալ՝ բերկրեցաւ 5 Աստուածահաստատ թագաւորութիւնս մեր, և մեծահանդէս հանդերձանաք՝ ելաք ընդ առաջ Այրարատեան թագաւորութեան և Ազքանագեան գնդին: Եւ պատահեալ միմեանց՝ երկրպագութիւն մատուցաք անմահ արքային մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի: Եւ ողջունեալ զմիմեանս՝ դարձաք ի 332՝ վկայարանս սուրբ առաքելոցս, և երկրպագեցաք Աստուածամուխ սուրբ | 10 նշխարաց սոցա, փառաւորելով զՔրիստոս՝ զպսակիչն սրբոց: Եւ եկեալ ի պաղատն պանծալի՝ բազմեցաք արքայքս ի միում բարձրաբերձ

4.1 տանս| տանոյ E 2 արևելաժառանգ| արևաժառանգ By արևելեան ժառանգ F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> արևելան ժառանգ g 2 և| om S<sub>1</sub> 2 զլիաւորաց| զլաւորաց B զլիաւոր F<sub>5</sub> 2 առաքելոցս| f. տ I f. om my 2 փոխանորդի| փոխանակ որդո F<sub>3</sub> փոխանորդաց F<sub>5</sub> 2 սոցա| om F<sub>5</sub> 3 պատուեալ| պատուելի A<sub>g</sub> պատուել y 3 պապիս| պապոյս D<sub>g</sub>E պապուս I 3 պերճապսակ| պերճապակաս I 3 և| om A<sub>1</sub> 3 նորընծայ| նորընծայ Ig [...] N<sub>9</sub> 3-4 Քրիստոսի| f. om ABEK 4 Աստուծոյ| om CT + մերոյ F<sub>5</sub> 4 ղշխոյիս| ղշխոհիս F<sub>5</sub>y 4 Հեղինէի| հելինէ A<sub>1</sub> հեղինեայ A<sub>g</sub> հեղինէ EF<sub>3</sub> հեղինեա F<sub>5</sub> 4 թագուհոյս| omt հրճուեալ C 4-5 ծիրանածին| ծիրածին F<sub>3</sub> 5 զարդու| զարթու T 5 զաւրացելոյս| զաւրացելոցս bEF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>IS<sub>1</sub> 5 որս| f. om B<sub>g</sub> + հոյժ E 5 հրճուեալ բերկրեցալ բերկրեալ հրճուեցաւ y 6 թագաւորութիւնս| f. om F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 6 մեր| om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 7 ելաք| ելեաք B 7 առաջ| i. + j bF<sub>5</sub>gIKM<sub>2</sub>mTy 7 Այրարատեան| արարատեան F<sub>5</sub> այրատեանն I 7 Ազքանագեան| ազգանագեան AF ազքանագան B ազգագան F<sub>3</sub> ազքագեան F<sub>5</sub> ազգքանագեան I այսքանագան K ասքանագեան M<sub>2</sub>m ազանգան T 8 գնդին| գնտին E 8 Եւ| om B<sub>g</sub> 8 մատուցաք| omt աստուածամուխ y 9 արքային| թագաւորին y 9 ողջունեալ| f. + p A<sub>g</sub>CD<sub>g</sub>Iy 10 վկայարանս| f. om CFF<sub>3</sub> 10 առաքելոցս| f. ն I f. om N<sub>9</sub> 11 նշխարաց| f. + u B<sub>g</sub> 12 պաղատն| պաղտան F<sub>3</sub> պալատն F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 12 պանծալի| պանձալի B 12 բազմեցաք| բազմեցայք E 12 ի միում| իմում F<sub>3</sub>T + բարձի և y 12 բարձրաբերձ| բարձիաբերձ C գերահրաշ F<sub>3</sub> բարձաբերձ F<sub>5</sub> բարձրայ բերձ I

5 զաւրացելոյս 10<sup>0</sup> j corr g w<sup>A</sup> I 7 ազգագան + 3<sup>0</sup> ն w<sup>A</sup> T 8 պատահալ + 5<sup>0</sup> ե w<sup>A</sup> T 10 աստուածամուխ + 11<sup>0</sup> ղ w<sup>B</sup> E 12 պանալի + 3<sup>0</sup> ծ w<sup>A</sup> g

4. They arrived to visit the church<sup>14</sup> of the saints—whom East and West inherited—and of the chief Apostles,<sup>15</sup> as well as their successor, the splendidly crowned honourable Pope, and the Emperor, newly converted to the faith of Christ the God,<sup>16</sup> the powerful, great Queen Helen, and the purple-born, marvellous children of the potent [Emperor]. With them, our God-strengthened Kingdom rejoiced with happiness and we went out with great and lavish preparations to meet [those of] the Kingdom of Ararat and the army of Ashkenaz.<sup>17</sup> When we met each other we gave glory to our immortal King, Jesus Christ, and greeted each other. Then we went to the Martyrion of the Holy Apostles,<sup>18</sup> and worshipped their holy relics permeated with divinity, giving glory to Christ who crowns all saints. [Then], coming to the magnificent palace, we the Kings

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<sup>14</sup> The Armenian version literally reads 'the place of the House of the Lord' which denotes a church. I have used the latter, common term in order for the translation to flow smoother. The sentence is somewhat ambiguous. First of all, grammatically it is clear that the Armenian contingent went to Rome to visit only one church. Given this, it must be assumed that the 'saints whom both East and West inherited' is not a general reference to some un-named saints (to whom a church was dedicated), but must refer to the 'chief apostles', and the church was also dedicated to the 'chief apostles'. If this interpretation is correct, then the church in question can only be the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome (presently in the Vatican). Since the author implies that it was the church of both 'chief Apostles', then he must have known about newly emerging Roman traditions (from the twelfth century on) and about the belief that the relics of both Peter and Paul were kept at the Basilica of St. Peter. For a more detailed discussion cfr Chapter 2, pp. 57–58. According to Vg Trdat and Gregory went to the 'Church of the Apostle Peter led by the Patriarch of Rome, Eusebius' (Vg 182.1 Garitte 1946, p. 110), and this tradition is found also in SA 1976, 24.

<sup>15</sup> The reference, again, is to Apostles Peter and Paul. Thus, here, too, the Pope is described as the successor of both Apostles.

<sup>16</sup> Quite diplomatically, the author of TD does not provide any hints as to whether Constantine converted before Trdat or vice versa. Aa and Vg do not concur on this point. According to Aa Trdat converted before Constantine, while Vg states the opposite. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 53–54, 56 and 79 for discussion.

<sup>17</sup> Armenians as the 'nation of Ashkenaz' is mentioned several times in YD 1912, 13, 47, 139, and 219, among others. From sources contemporary with TD which refer to this tradition one can mention SA 1976, 202.

<sup>18</sup> The language of the phrasing is ambiguous. It could be translated both as 'to the martyrion' or 'to the martyria'. Given what was said in note 14, it is most probable that only 'one martyrion' should be intended and that the reference is most likely to the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome. See also Chapter 2, pp. 56–57 for further discussion.

բազմականի, և հայրապետքս՝ ի միում գերահրաշ գահաւորակի: Եւ զբազում աւուրս անցուցաք ի հոգևոր և ի մարմնաւոր ուրախութիւնս:

5. Նաև հրաման հանաք ընդ ամենայն տիեզերական իշխանութիւնս մեր, զի ամենեքեան ուրախասցին ի կերակուրս և յըմպելիս ընդ ամենայն աշխարհ: Եւ արգելցին հարկահանքն ընդ ամենայն տեղիս յայսմ ամի՝ յաղագս ցնծութեան սրտից մերոց: Իսկ ի հրամանէ սրբոյ Լուսաւորչիս՝ ազատեցին գերեալք, արձակեցին կապեալք, գերծցին բանտեալք, պա- 5 տատեցին մուրհակք պարտականաց, դատ և իրաւունք էլցեն յարքունուստ ամենայն որբոց և այրեաց և հայրենագրկաց: Իսկ ի հրամանէ քաջ արանց եղբարս մերոյ Տրդատայ, դարձցին ամենայն դատապարտեալք, որք ի քր[է]ական մետաղս իցեն, և թողցին ամենայն պարտք արքունականք: Ընդ որս և աղ արհնութեան հրամանաւ Լուսաւորչիս առաքեցաք ընդ ամենայն աշխարհս իշխանութեան մերոյ՝ ի սպանդանոցս և յառ տնին զենիւս, զի 10

13 բազմականի] գահաւորակի F<sub>3</sub> 13 ի միում] իմում I 13 գերահրաշ] բարձրաբերձ F<sub>3</sub> 13 գահաւորակի] գահաւորի A<sub>g</sub> բազմականի F<sub>3</sub> գահաւորակի F<sub>5</sub> գահաւորին K գահաւորականի γ 14 զբազում] i. om B<sub>g</sub>CF<sub>5</sub>KT 14 անցուցաք] անցոյցաք F<sub>3</sub> 5.1 հրաման հանաք] հրամանայիանաւք I 1 տիեզերական] omt զի F<sub>5</sub> 1 տիեզերական իշխանութիւնս մեր] տիեզերս որ ընդ իշխանութիւնս մեր է A<sub>g</sub> 2 յըմպելիս] i. om ES<sub>1</sub> + ի ant F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> յըմբելիս A<sub>1</sub>IKN, յմբելիս CF 2-3 ընդ ամենայն աշխարհ] om A<sub>g</sub> 3 աշխարհ] f. + ի A f. + u EF<sub>5</sub>IT i. + j S<sub>1</sub> 3 հարկահանքն] f. om A<sub>g</sub>F<sub>3</sub>γ հարկայ հարկահանքն I 3 ընդ] om A<sub>g</sub> 3 ամենայն] i. + j ggK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>my 3 տեղիս] տիեզերս F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 4 յաղագս] ի յաղակս B 4 մերոց] + և ուրախութեան γ 4 ի հրամանէ] om ի T 4 սրբոյ] սուրբ S<sub>1</sub> 4 Լուսաւորչիս] f. ն EK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub> + և F<sub>3</sub> omt գերծցին T 5 գերեալք] f. + ն D<sub>g</sub>EF<sub>5</sub> + և S<sub>1</sub> 5 արձակեցին] արձակեցին F<sub>5</sub> 5 արձակեցին կապեալք] om A<sub>g2</sub> 5 կապեալք] f. + ն D<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 5 գերծցին] զարծեցին A գերծին BF<sub>3</sub> գերծցին I 5 բանտեալք] բանդարգեալքն BbCS<sub>1</sub> բանդարգեալք Elg<sub>g</sub>K բանտարգեալք FM<sub>2</sub>my բանդարկեալք F<sub>3</sub> բանդարկեալքն F<sub>5</sub> բանդեալք N<sub>9</sub> բանդեալքն T 5-6 պատառեցին] պատարեցին F<sub>3</sub> 6 պարտականաց] պարտապանաց CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> f. + ն D<sub>g</sub> 6 յարքունուստ] + յարգունուստ C ի ant D<sub>g</sub> i. om T 7 ամենայն] om γ 7 հայրենագրկաց] հայրենագրկեաց B հայրենայ գրկաց E 7 արանց] արեանց B 8 մերոյ] մեր T 8 Տրդատայ] տրտատայ B om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 8 դարձցին] դարձին BF<sub>3</sub> դարձի T 8 դատապարտեալք] f. + ն F<sub>5</sub> 8 որք] f. om IKT 9 քր[է]ական] քրեական B քերան F<sub>3</sub> քերան F<sub>5</sub> քրովբեական I քրական N<sub>2</sub> 9 մետաղս] մետաղից F<sub>5</sub> 9 իցեն] են F<sub>5</sub> 9 լ] om γ 9 թողցին] թողցեն KS<sub>1</sub> 9 արքունականք] f. om F<sub>3</sub>K արքունայ կանք I 10 արհնութեան] + և F<sub>5</sub> 10 հրամանաւ] + սուրբ g 10 Լուսաւորչիս] f. ն F<sub>5</sub>γ 10 ամենայն] i. + j γ 11 իշխանութեան] f. + u AA<sub>1</sub>M իշխանութենէ I 11 մերոյ] մերում bEIS<sub>1</sub>Ty 11 սպանդանոցս] սպանտանոցս E սպանդացոցս F<sub>3</sub> om ի ant γ 11 յառ] i. om dF<sub>5</sub>Ty 11 յառ տնին] առանին F<sub>3</sub> 11 զենիւս] զենիս B զենիւս F<sub>3</sub>

4 հրանէ + 2<sup>0</sup> and with a different hand w<sup>A</sup> B 5 արձակեցին + 9<sup>0</sup> ն w<sup>A</sup> M<sub>2</sub>

reclined on the same lofty reclining chair while the Patriarchs [sat] on the same marvellous throne.<sup>19</sup> And we spent many days in spiritual and bodily festivities.<sup>20</sup>

5. We also issued an order to our entire universal domain that everyone in the whole world<sup>21</sup> shall rejoice in eating and drinking. May all tax-collectors be prohibited in all places this year because of the joy of our hearts. And upon the command of the Holy Illuminator, may all captives be freed, those in chains be liberated, prisoners be released, certificates of debtors be torn apart, and justice and rights arise from the Royal Court to all orphans, widows and those who have lost their paternal [property]. Moreover, upon the order of the brave one among men<sup>22</sup>—our brother Trdat—may all those in metal mines for criminal offence<sup>23</sup> return [to their homes] and may all royal debts be cancelled. With these and by the order of the Illuminator, we sent the salt of benediction throughout the countries of our dominion, to butchers and to the sacrificial victims at the

<sup>19</sup> On the significance of sitting on the same 'reclining chair' and the 'same marvellous throne' cfr Chapter 2, pp. 59–62.

<sup>20</sup> Vg has a similar sequence and narrative. After the visit to the 'Church of Apostle Peter' the dignitaries go to the imperial palace, where they feast for several days. Vg 182 (Garitte 1946, 110).

<sup>21</sup> Since the word *u2huuph* can have different meanings in Armenian, I have not translated it consistently with the same word in English. Depending on the context, I have translated it as *world*, *land* or *country*.

<sup>22</sup> In Armenian the expression is problematic. It literally means 'upon the order of *brave men* of our brother Trdat'. This would mean that the order came not from Trdat (which is what best fits the context) but from his *brave men*, supposedly the dignitaries that accompanied him. However, the word *k'aj* (brave) could be interpreted as a qualification of Trdat, i.e. 'Trdat, the brave one among men'. While it is acceptable that the 'Holy Illuminator' ask for justice and mercy from the Emperor, it is rather strange that 'brave men' of Trdat, i.e. the dignitaries that went to Rome with him, also interceded for releasing criminals and cancelling royal taxes. Thus, I have not been literal in my translation, but have rather 'interpreted' the sentence. But this problem must be kept in mind.

<sup>23</sup> Bartikian 2004, p. 97, cites the *Vita Constantini* where criminals working in 'metal mines' are mentioned. The suggestion that the expression *մետաղու իցնի* here should be interpreted in that sense, i.e. 'criminals working in metal mines' is acceptable and I used it in this translation. However, *մետաղու իցնի* could also simply refer to criminals in prison, that is, behind the metal bars of a prison. Overall, the release of prisoners from jails and the cancellation of debts is similar to Aa §844. In Aa, however, these events take place in Armenia, as part of Gregory's evangelising activity, while TD increases the importance of Trdat and Gregory by stating that they gave similar orders with regards to the Roman Empire.

մի հեթանոսաբար լիցի խրախուրթինս մեր: Նաև զդաւանութիւն հաւատոյ սուրբ հաւրս մերոյ Գրիգորի արձանագրով քարոզեցաք յամենայն եկեղեցիս ուղղափառաց:

- 332<sup>v</sup> 6. Իսկ յորժամ հանդերձեալ էին հրաժարիլ | ի մենջ հոգեզարդ հայրս մեր և եղբայրս Տրդատ, ժողով մեծ եղև առաջի սուրբ առաքելոցս՝ երեքհարիւր և քսան սինկղիտոսաւք, և քսան և չորք թագաւորաւքս, և բազմաբիւր իշխանաւքս դադմատական, հնազանդեցելաւքս ի ներքոյ բարձր բազկի մերոյ Աստուծով աւժանդակեալ, նաև բազկակից եղբայրս մեր Տրդատ 5 արքայ, իւրովք զահերեց մեծամեծ նախարարաւքն՝ նթանասուն հազարաւքն, (իսկ երկոքին հայրապետքս իւրեանց արքեպիսկոպոսաւք և

12 մեր] om γ 12 զդաւանութիւն] f. + u BF<sub>3</sub>gS<sub>1</sub> + մեր F<sub>3</sub> i. om S<sub>1</sub> 12-13 հաւատոյ սուրբ] սուրբ A<sub>g</sub>EF<sub>5</sub> om B սուրբ հաւատոյ C 13 սուրբ] սրբոյ A 13 հաւրս] f. om Fg 13 մերոյ] + սուրբ Bb 13 Գրիգորի] լուսաւորչիս B + լուսաւորչիս bS<sub>1</sub> + զոր և ընկալեալ էր սորա ի նախնեացն և նոցա ի սրբոց առաքելոցն. և առաքելոցն աւանդեաց Քրիստոս ի վերնատուն. զոր և առեալ զհացն արհնեաց և ետ աշակերտացն և ասէ առեք, կերայք ի սմանէ ամենեքան. այս է մարմին իմ: Նոյնպէս և զբաժակն անապակ առեալ ի ձեռն արհնեաց և ասէ. արքեք ի սմանէ ամենեքեան. այս է արիւն իմ. որ վասն ձեր և բազմաց հեղու ի քաւութիւն: զայս արարեք առ իմոյ յիշատակի: Նոյնպէս և մեր ընկալեալ ի սր. հարէս մերմէ Գրիգորէ, փոխանակ կուսածին մարմնոյն Քրիստոսի հացն անխմոր և փոխանակ արեանն Քրիստոսի զինի անապակ C 13 արձանագրով] i. + j F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> արձագրով T 13 քարոզեցաք] հաստատեցաք և քարոզեցաք B քարոզեցաք և հաստատեցաք b 13 յամենայն] i. om S<sub>1</sub> 13 եկեղեցիս] i. + j F<sub>5</sub>T 6.1 հանդերձեալ էին] հանդերձին I 1 հրաժարիլ] հրաժարել B<sub>g</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub> հրաժարեալ C 1 հոգեզարդ] հոգիազարդ CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 2 եղբայրս] + մեր D<sub>g</sub>F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> f. om γ 2 Տրդատ] տրդատիոս F<sub>5</sub> 2 մեծ եղև] եղև մեծ ACT 2 առաջի սուրբ] om γ 2 սուրբ] om F<sub>3</sub> 3 սինկղիտոսաւք] f. + u ABbIKTy f. + ն E սինկղիտոսաւք FF<sub>3</sub> սինկղիտոսք F<sub>5</sub> սինկղիտոսք g 3 թագաւորաւքս] [...] N<sub>9</sub> 3 և] om I 3 բազմաբիւր] բազմաբեր F<sub>5</sub> 4 իշխանաւքս] omt ի ներքոյ A<sub>g</sub> իշխանքս I f. om γ 4 հնազանդեցելաւքս] հնազանդելաւքս CFF<sub>3</sub> հնազանդելեօքս F<sub>5</sub> հնազանդեցելովքս N<sub>2</sub> հնազանդեցելոքս S<sub>1</sub> 4 բարձր բազկի] բարձրաբազկի A<sub>1</sub> 4 բազկի] f. + u A<sub>g</sub> 5 աւժանդակեալ] աւժանդակելոյ B<sub>g</sub> աւժընտակէ C 5 բազկակից] բազկակցիս A<sub>1</sub> բազկայ կից I 5 եղբայրս] f. om F<sub>3</sub>T 6 իւրովք] f. om A<sub>g</sub>C 6 զահերեց] զայերեց F<sub>3</sub> omt եաւթանասուն հազարաւքն F<sub>5</sub> f. p I 6 նախարարաւքն] f. om A<sub>g</sub> + ն γ 6-7 հազարաւքն] f. om A<sub>1</sub>g<sub>8</sub>KM<sub>2</sub>m omt կամաւքն N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 7 երկոքին] f. + ն E 7 իւրեանց] իւր KN<sub>9</sub> մեր γ 7 արքեպիսկոպոսաւք] f. + ն bg<sub>8</sub>KM<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub>

12 լիցի + 2<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> I 6.1 հանդերեալ + 6<sup>0</sup> Δ w<sup>A</sup> B 3 սինղիտոսաւք + 3<sup>0</sup> կ w<sup>A</sup> N<sub>2</sub>

house,<sup>24</sup> lest this joy be celebrated in the pagan manner. Moreover, with an inscription we professed the confession of faith of our Holy Father Gregory in all orthodox churches.

6. And when our father, embellished with the Spirit, as well as our brother Trdat were getting ready to leave us, a great assembly was convened in front of the Holy Apostles<sup>25</sup> attended by three hundred and twenty senators<sup>26</sup> and twenty-four kings, as well as many thousands of Dalmatian princes, subjects under our high hand<sup>27</sup> which is supported by God, and our companion-in-arms, brother King Trdat, with his seventy thousand<sup>28</sup> magnificent senior princes, as well as the two Patriarchs<sup>29</sup> with their archbishops and priests.

<sup>24</sup> The Armenian phrasing is problematic. First of all, the lemma տնիկն is erroneous, since the gen./dat. sing. (if these are, indeed, the cases implied by տնիկն) of տուն should be տնու. If the preposition (յ)ւն refers to both substantives 'house' and 'sacrificial victims', the phrase could mean 'to the sacrificial victims at/near the house'. The other solution would be to assume that the preposition refers only to the 'sacrificial victims' in which case the translation is 'to the sacrificial victims of the house'. Both expressions make little sense. I have opted for the first solution since its sense was slightly more acceptable. This sentence was also meant to be an apology for the Armenian ritual of *matał*. The text would 'prove' that not only did Constantine fully approve the ritual but also that St. Gregory the Illuminator was so important that he was authorised to send the 'salt of benediction' to the houses of sacrifice 'throughout the countries' under Constantine's dominion. Moreover, TD's author may have also wanted to emphasise that the Armenian *matał* had nothing to do with pagan rituals since, for example, the 'salt of benediction' guaranteed its full orthodoxy according to this text. It must be mentioned that the immolation of animals in Christian context was not unknown either in Byzantine or Latin Churches all throughout the middle ages, cfr Kovaltchuk 2008. For an apology of the Armenian *matał* cfr, *inter alia*, a letter by Nersēs Šnorhali in NS 1871, 252–253.

<sup>25</sup> In all the previous occasions, the allusions to the Holy Apostles seemed to refer to Peter and Paul and the Basilica of St. Peter. However, here the reference is more general. According to Bartikian, here the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople was intended. Cfr Bartikian 2004, 93. Given the absolute absence of the mention of Constantinople in this text, as discussed in Chapter 2, this suggestion does not seem tenable.

<sup>26</sup> The number 320 may be a conscious imitation of the number of bishops—318—who participated at the Council of Nicaea. Cfr also Bartikian 2004, 93. The number of kings—24—is less easy to explain. It may carry some apocalyptic significance, i.e. this is the same number as the foul nations or kings that Alexander the Great enclosed behind the 'Gates of the North' who would invade the world before the End of Times. Cfr also Chapter 2, pp. 64–65.

<sup>27</sup> I have been literal in my translation of 'high hand' (for *barjr bazuk*). It obviously refers figuratively to Constantine's rule/dominion.

<sup>28</sup> This is the number of dignitaries which traveled to Rome with Trdat according to Aa §873 and repeated in other Armenian sources.

<sup>29</sup> It is significant that the author of TD here, again, places Gregory and Sylvester on the same footing by calling both of them 'Patriarchs', implying a hierarchical equality between them.



քահանայաւք:՝ Կամաւքն Աստուծոյ և միջնորդութեամբ սուրբ Ասուածածնին և սուրբ առաքելոցս և ամենայն սրբոց, երկոքին արքայքս և երկոքին հայրապետքս և երկոքին ազգս՝ հռոմայեցիք և հայք, միաբան և 10 միախորհուրդ, համաշունչ եղբարք գրեցաք միմեանց: Եւ ուխտ և դաշինս հաստատեցաք յաւիտենական ի միջի մերում առաջի փառաց փայտիս՝ նշանիս Քրիստոսի, արիական լատինացիքս և անյաղթելի թորգումացիքս: Եւ յաղագս հաւատարմութեան հաստատուն և անջրելի ուխտիս մերոյ, զահագին և զանգին արիւնն Քրիստոսի ի մելանս խառնեալ, գրեցաք ֆրերք 15 միմեանց արևմտեան և արևելեան ազգս, որք հաւատ և սէր և միամտութիւն պարտիմք միմեանց, որպէս եղբայրացելոյն մեր Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ, ճգնելով ի վերայ միմեանց մահու չափ և մեռանելով յաւժարութեամբ ի վերայ միմեանց, սիրելեացն միմեանց սիրելի լինելով և թշնամեացն՝

8 քահանայաւք] + և A<sub>g</sub> քահանայիւք CD<sub>g</sub>FF<sub>5</sub>g<sub>g</sub>IK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mT քահանայիւք EF<sub>3</sub>  
8 Կամաւքն] կաման A<sub>g</sub> f. om F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 9 սրբոց] f. + u y 9 արքայքս] արքայս  
F<sub>3</sub> թգր o որքս g թագաւորքս K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub> 10 երկոքին] omt ազգքս g 10 ազգս]  
ազգքս g<sub>g</sub>IK 10 հռոմայեցիք] հռովմայեցիքս C հռոմայեցիս F<sub>3</sub> հռովմայեցիք  
gKM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>y f. + u I 10 հայք] հայրք m 11 միախորհուրդ] մի խորհուրդ  
F + և S<sub>1</sub> f. + p y 11 եղբարք] եղբայրք bgKm 11 գրեցաք] գրեցայք N<sub>9</sub>  
11 Եւ] om F<sub>5</sub> 11 ուխտ] f. + u by f. + p F<sub>3</sub> f. η F<sub>5</sub> omt 6.19 միմեանց սիրելի  
y 11 դաշինս] f. p F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 12 միջի] մէջ F<sub>3</sub> 12 առաջի] f. + և A i. + j S<sub>1</sub>  
12 փառաց] om E 12 փայտիս] f. om A<sub>g</sub>CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> + սուրբ F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 13 նշանիս] f.  
և bS<sub>1</sub> 13 լատինացիքս] լադինացիքս BFI լադինացիք F<sub>3</sub> լատենացիքս KM<sub>2</sub>m  
omt և յաղագս g 13 անյաղթելի] i. + j E 13 թորգումացիքս] թորքումացիքս AT  
թորգումեցիքս BbEI 14 հաւատարմութեան] հաստատութեան A<sub>1</sub> 14 անջրելի]  
անջնջելի F<sub>5</sub> 14 ուխտիս] f. om F<sub>3</sub> 15 զանգին] + անապական C զանգին E  
զանգնելի FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 15 ի մելանս խառնեալ] խառնեցաք ի մելանս և F<sub>5</sub> 15 մելանս]  
մելեանս A<sub>1</sub>E մելանս BF 15 խառնեալ] խառնեցաք + և F<sub>3</sub> 15 ֆրերք] ֆրերքս C  
ֆրատք FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> ֆրերք gKM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>9</sub> f. om T 16 միմեանց] + որպէս եղբայրացելոյն  
մերոյ Քրիստոսի աստուծոյ F<sub>5</sub> 16 արևմտեան] արևմտին B<sub>g2</sub> om և F<sub>3</sub> i. + j  
KF<sub>3</sub> 16 արևելեան] i. + j F<sub>3</sub> 16 ազգս] ազգքս BbIS<sub>1</sub> i. + j F<sub>3</sub> 16 որք] f. om A<sub>g</sub>  
16 հաւատ] f. + p F<sub>3</sub> 16 և] om D<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub>IT + միաբանութեան E 16 միամտութիւն]  
միաբանութիւն A<sub>g</sub> միամտութեամբ D<sub>g</sub> և միամիտութեամբ E միամտութեան I  
om F<sub>5</sub> 17 պարտիմք] պարտինք AA<sub>1</sub>CEKN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T պարիսպք F<sub>3</sub> 17 միմեանց]  
omt ճգնելով F<sub>5</sub> 17 որպէս] + և C 17 եղբայրացելոյն] եղբայր այցելոյն F<sub>3</sub> i. +  
q S<sub>1</sub> 17 մեր] մերոյ D<sub>g</sub>Cg<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m om K<sub>g</sub>T 17 Աստուծոյ] + մերոյ F<sub>3</sub> 18 ճգնելով]  
ճգնել B<sub>g2</sub> 18 ի վերայ միմեանց մահու չափ և մեռանելով] om F<sub>5</sub> 18 մեռանելով]  
մեռանել B<sub>g2</sub> 18 մեռանիլ F<sub>3</sub> 18-19 յաւժարութեամբ ի վերայ միմեանց] ի վերայ  
միմեանց յաւժարութեամբ bCFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 19 միմեանց] om A<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 19 սիրելի] i. l I  
19-20 սիրելի լինելով և թշնամեացն թշնամի] սիրելի լինել և ատելեացն ատելի  
և թշնամի լինելով y 19 լինելով] լինիլ F<sub>5</sub>

11 գրեց + 4<sup>0</sup> աք w<sup>A</sup> B 17 եղբարացելոյն + 4<sup>0</sup> j w<sup>A</sup> N<sub>9</sub>

With the will of God and the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, as well as of Holy Apostles and all the saints, we, the two Kings and the two Patriarchs, the two nations—Romans and Armenians—proclaimed in writing to be of one word and of one mind, always concordant brothers.<sup>30</sup> And we established an eternal covenant and alliance between us in front of the glorious wood, the sign of Christ, we, valiant Latins and invincible sons of Torgom.<sup>31</sup> And in order to confirm the loyalty to our firm and indissoluble covenant we mixed the awesome and priceless blood of Christ with the ink<sup>32</sup> and promised each other in writing, Western and Eastern nations,<sup>33</sup> to be *frères* and pledged faith and love and concordance to each other as we do to our God Christ, who had become our brother,<sup>34</sup> striving for each other until death, dying for each other willingly, loving those who are loved by the other and

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<sup>30</sup> Two texts that have similar wording are the *Document on Borders* (Alishan 1901, 98) and the *Vipasanut'iwn* of Nersēs Šnorhali (NS 1928, 570).

<sup>31</sup> The belief that the Armenians are 'sons of Torgom' goes back to MX 1981, 1.10 and was standard, received tradition. It is cited, among others, in NS 1928, 110, where Torgom is said to be the father of Hayk, the progenitor of the Armenian nation.

<sup>32</sup> This detail seemed quite unorthodox to the first and later publishers of TD. Yakob Holov, for example, omitted it in his 1683 edition. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 62–64 for further discussion. The *Document on Borders* (Alishan 1901, 98) has a similar clause. It says that the covenant was written 'by the blood of Christ'.

<sup>33</sup> It is interesting to note the idea that the author of TD assumes (or wants his audience to assume) that the world is composed of two main nations—Eastern and Western—the Armenians and the Romans respectively. The concept of this two-partite division is present also in the SA, cfr comments of the editor Frasson in SA 1976, LXXI. Cfr also Chapter 2, pp. 73–76 for further discussion.

<sup>34</sup> I have translated 'who had become our brother' literally. The expression probably refers to the humanity and humility of Christ who by the act of incarnation became a 'brother' to all men.

333<sup>r</sup> թշնամի: Եւ յերկուց ազգացս ոչ որ իշխէ միմեանց սուր քարշել, և որք 20  
 յանդգնին, սուրք նոցա մտցեն ի սիրտս իւրեանց և աղեղունք նոցա  
 փշրեսցին ի բազուկս իւրեանց: Եւ այս ուխտադրութիւն հաստատուն  
 կացցէ ի մեջ երկուց ազգացս մինչ ի կէտ կատարածի աշխարհի: Իսկ որ  
 որ վերջացի յայսմ վճռէս՝ որոշեալ լիցի ի քրիստոսական հաւատոցս և  
 անէծս զԿայենին և զՅուդային և զտիրասպան քահանայիցն ժառանգեսցէ: 25  
 Ասացեն հրեշտակք և մարդիկ. «Եղիցի՛, եղիցի՛»:

7. Ըստ այսմ խորհրդոյ՝ և մեք հրովարտակ հանաք ընդ ամենայն տիեզերս  
 իշխանութեան մերոյ: «Որք էք ընդ արևելս, յայնկոյս Ադրիական ծովուն,  
 և ի միջոցս Պոնտական և Կարփիական պիղագոսացն. զիտութիւն լիցի

20 յերկուց] f. om B i. om  $F_3F_5S_1$  20 ազգացս] f. om E 20 իշխէ] յիշխէ  $F_3$   
 իցէ  $F_5$  իշխեսցէ  $\gamma$  20 միմեանց] om  $B_gCFF_3$  միմեաց  $M_2$  20 քարշել] քաշել  
 $BbEI$  + միմեանց  $B_gC$  21 յանդգնին] i. om  $F_5$  յանդքնին  $S_1$  21 մտցեն] մտցէ  
 $B$  21 սիրտս] f. p  $F$  21 իւրեանց] նոցա  $AA_gBbCF_5I$  omt և այս  $T$  21 նոցա]  
 իւրեանց  $I$  22 փշրեսցին] f. om B փշրեսցեն  $I$  22 ուխտադրութիւն] f. + u  
 $AF_5T$  ուխտայ դրութիւնս  $I$  ուխտատրութիւն  $T$  23 կացցէ] կայցէ  $K$  կայցցէ  $N_9$   
 23 մէջ] մենջ  $K$  23 երկուց] f. + u  $A$  23 ազգացս] f. om  $ATy$  23 մինչ] f. + և  
 $A_gA_1B_gCFF_5$  23 ի կէտ] om  $FF_3F_5$  23 կէտ] om  $A_gT$  23 կատարածի] f. om  $A_gF_3F_5T$   
 23 աշխարհի] f. + u  $BbEF_3F_5IS_1Ty$  23-24 որ որ վերջացի] որք վերջացին  $A_1B_gC$   
 որք վերջացի  $KM_2m$  24 յայսմ] + ի  $ant D_g$  i. om  $K$  24 վճռէս] վճիռիս  $FF_3F_5$   
 24 լիցի] f. + և  $B_gC$  24 հաւատոցս] f. և  $A_gBbEF_3F_5IS_1y$  հաւատոյցն  $B$  f. om  $CFT$   
 24 և] om  $F_3$  25 զԿայենին] f. om  $B_gC$  i. om  $F_5$  25 զՅուդային] f. om  $B_gK_gM_2m$   
 զուդայի b om  $C$  զուդային  $F_3$  + առցէ  $\gamma$  25 զտիրասպան] զտիրասպանիցն  $F_5$   
 զտիրասպանացն  $S_1$  25 քահանայիցն] om  $F_5S_1$  25 ժառանգեսցէ] ժառանգեսցեն  
 $B_{g2}$  om  $\gamma$  26 Ասացեն] ասացին  $CF_3F_5$  26 հրեշտակք] f. om  $B$  հրեշտաք  $F_5$   
 26 մարդիկ] f. p  $B$  f. + p  $bCEF_3S_1Ty$  մարդ  $I$  26 եղիցի] + ամեն  $F_5$  7.1 Ըստ]  
 ընդ  $BF_5Iy$  1 այսմ] f. + և  $N_9$  i. +  $\gamma$  1 խորհրդոյ] f. + u  $g_gM_2m$  խորհրդոցս  $K$   
 խորհրդի  $\gamma$  1 հրովարտակ] f. p  $F_3F_5I$  1 հանաք] om  $A_g$  1 ամենայն] om  $K_g$  i. +  
 $\gamma$  1 տիեզերս] տեղիս  $B_g$  2 մերոյ] + առաքեցաք  $A_g$  2 Որք] f. om  $ACEF_3F_5N_9$   
 2 արևելս] արևելս  $CEF$  արևս  $F_3$  i. +  $\gamma$   $gKM_2my$  2 յայնկոյս] + ի  $ant D_g$  om  $FF_3F_5$   
 2 Ադրիական] անդրիական  $EK_gM_2m$  2 ծովուն] ծովոյն  $C$  3 միջոցս] միջոս  $FF_3$   
 om  $F_5$  f. և  $T$  3 Պոնտական] պոնդական  $CFF_5gK_gM_2mN_2N_9y$  3 Կարփիական] + և  
 $BbEIS_1y$  կազբիական  $T$  3 պիղագոսացն] պեղագոսացն  $A_1K_gS_1$  պիղիգոսացն  $C$   
 պիղագոսացն  $FF_3F_5y$  3 լիցի] լիցեն  $E$

22 ուտադրութիւն +  $2^0$  ի  $w^A B$  23 կացէ +  $3^0 g w^B A$  24 որք [վերջացի] +  $2^0 n w^A$   
 $A$  26 եղից +  $4^0$  ի  $w^A I$  7.1 այմ +  $2^0 u w^A T$  3 կազբիական  $3^0 q$  corr u  $L^A A_1$

being hostile to each others' enemies. And none from the two nations shall dare to raise his sword against the other and those who do, may they be stabbed with their [own] swords in their hearts and may their arches be pulverised upon their arms. And this alliance shall remain constant between our two nations until the End of the world.<sup>35</sup> May those who break this pronouncement be excommunicated from the Christian faith and inherit the curses of Cain, Judas and the priests who assassinated the Lord.<sup>36</sup> May angels and men say: 'Let it be! Let it be!'

7. According to this counsel<sup>37</sup> we promulgated an edict in the whole universe<sup>38</sup> under our domination. 'To those of you who are in the East, on the other side of the Adriatic Sea and between the Pontic and the Caspian

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<sup>35</sup> Very similar wording is found in the *Document on Borders*. Cfr Alishan 1901, 98. The author of TD may have had access to official documents and could have borrowed common formulae of peace agreements. However, there is no verbatim dependance of this phrasing on any identifiable source. The apocalyptic significance of such a covenant that would last 'until the end of the world' should also be born in mind, given the interest in such speculations in the Cilician milieu during the time of the composition of TD.

<sup>36</sup> Recalling Cain, Judas and the crucifiers of Christ is common in Armenian curses, cfr Harut'yunyan 1975.

<sup>37</sup> I have translated the word *xorhurd* as 'counsel'. It could also mean a mystery, e.g. the mystery of the covenant signed between Trdat and Constantine. I opted for a more down-to-earth meaning.

<sup>38</sup> The word 'universe' could be intended here also in the sense of the *oikumene*.

ձեզ՝ ամենայն ազգաց և ազանց և լեզուաց, թագաւորաց աշխարհակալաց, և իշխանաց ազգաց և զլիաւորաց գաւառաց, որք էք յԱփրիկեցոց աշխարհիդ 5 և յԵգիպտացոց, ի Պաղեստինացոց աշխարհիդ և՝ յԱրաբացոց, ի Միջագետաց աշխարհիդ և ի Մեծ Ասորոց, ի Փիւնիկեցոց աշխարհիդ և ի Կիլիկեցոց, ի Փոիւգացոց աշխարհիդ, ուր մեծն Նոյ կազմեաց

4 ազգաց] om I 4 և] om B<sub>g</sub> 4-5 և իշխանաց ազգաց] om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 5 որք] f. om AE 5 յԱփրիկեցոց] + ի<sub>ant</sub> Bb յափրիկեցոց bFF<sub>5</sub>N<sub>9</sub> omt և ի պաղեստինացոց S<sub>1</sub> 5 աշխարհիդ] f. տ A<sub>1</sub> f. u EI 6 և] omt յարաբացոց AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T omt կիլիկեցոց F<sub>3</sub> omt ի մեծ ասորոց F<sub>5</sub> 6 յԵգիպտացոց] յեգիպտացոց b + և by i. om γ 6 Պաղեստինացոց] պաղեստինացոց b om C om ի<sub>ant</sub> γ 6 աշխարհիդ] f. տ B om C f. u EI γ 6 յԱրաբացոց] յասիացոց B<sub>g</sub> յարաբացոց FT 7 Միջագետաց] միջագիտաց F 7 աշխարհիդ] f. տ A<sub>1</sub>BEI omt կելիկեցոց KM<sub>2</sub>m 7 և] om BbIS<sub>1</sub>γ 7 Մեծ Ասորոց] om ի<sub>ant</sub> BbEIS<sub>1</sub>γ ասորոց մեծացո bS<sub>1</sub> մեծ օրաց g<sub>g</sub> + և γ 7 Փիւնիկեցոց] փինիկեցոց B փինիկեցոց b փինիկեցոց FF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> փինիկոց S<sub>1</sub> + ի փոիւգացոց γ 7 աշխարհիդ] f. տ B omt որում C omt ուր և նոյ F<sub>5</sub> om γ 8 Կիլիկեցոց] om ի<sub>ant</sub> AFF<sub>3</sub>gN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>S<sub>1</sub>γ կիզիկեցոց A<sub>1</sub> կիլիկեցոց BbFT կիլիկեցոց F<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub> կելիկեցոց M<sub>2</sub>m omt ի պանփիլացոց γ 8 Փոիւգացոց] փոիւգացոց bS<sub>1</sub> փոիւգացոց EI փոիւգեցոց F փոիկեցոց F<sub>3</sub> փոիւգեցոց gM<sub>2</sub>m փոիւգեցոց K փոիւգացոց N<sub>2</sub> փոիւգացոց T 8 աշխարհիդ] f. տ BEI 8 ուր] որ A<sub>g</sub> 8 ուր մեծն] որում եւ C ուրեմս F ուր և F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>

4 ditt լեզուաց corr իշխ[անաց] m<sup>L</sup> M<sub>2</sub> 5 յԱփրիկեցոց աշխարհիդ] + ի մեծ ասորոց but ras T

Seas.<sup>39</sup> May it be known to all of you, nations and peoples and languages, kings of countries and princes of nations, and heads of provinces, those who are in the land of Africa<sup>40</sup> and Egypt, in the land of Palestine and Arabia, in the land of Mesopotamia and Great Assyria, in the land of Phoenicia and Cilicia, in the land of Phrygia where Great Noah built his

<sup>39</sup> The Adriatic Sea, even if with a different meaning and in a different context, is mentioned also in SA 1976, 48 and 152, Frasson's comments on pp. 129–130. In one case, both Long and Short Recensions of SA identify it as the 'Sea of the Indians' which is supposed to be at the 'edges of the world'. In SA it probably refers to the Indian Ocean. However, the Short Recension of SA, on another occasion (p. 152), implies that it is the Sea of the South, that is the South of Europe. Frasson cites Syriac authors according to whom the Adriatic Sea signifies the Mediterranean Sea in general, and thinks it possible that also SA implies the same on p. 152. In TD the Adriatic Sea could refer both precisely to the Adriatic Sea itself but also to the Mediterranean. The territory defined here by the three seas, i.e. the Adriatic, the Black and the Caspian Seas clearly refers to territories in the Eastern half of the Roman Empire. The author of TD is clearly exaggerating, because during Constantine's reign the Roman 'dominion' was far to the West of territories adjacent to the Caspian Sea. Moreover, if the Adriatic Sea refers to that sea and not the Mediterranean, then it must be noted that in the list of provinces that follows, the Balkan provinces (which technically are on the other side of the Adriatic Sea compared to Italy) are not at all mentioned. This cannot be coincidental. One may propose two hypotheses. The first, is that the source of the author also did not list the Balkan provinces. The second is related to the political aspirations expressed in TD which envisioned a strong Armenian rule East of the Mediterranean and not necessarily stretching all the way to the Balkans. This would be especially important in light of the Third Crusade, and Barbarossa's (and the future Emperor Henry VI's) plans on these territories. Last, but not least, the author used the Greek word for 'sea' for the 'Pontic and Caspian Seas', that was transiterated into Armenian as *pilagos* (in most mss) or *pelagos* (in some).

<sup>40</sup> Mss belonging to different groups omit this or that province. I have presented all these variations in Appendix 1. The list of provinces included in the base text (and the translation) is the one reconstructed based on the evidence of all extant mss. The source for this list was probably a document similar to the *Laterculus Veronensis* or the *Notitia Dignitatum*, even though these two specifically do not seem to have been what the author of TD used. The 'lands' mentioned here are all provinces of the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, except for Africa. However, the list is not complete. It omits, for example, Pisidia, Caria, etc. which were all provinces known to have existed during the reign of Constantine. This precise territorial description points out the 'wishful thinking' of some members of the Armenian elite living in Cilicia who hoped to extend their influence in the formerly Eastern Roman territories with the help of the Western (Crusading) armies. It is difficult to accept the conclusion of Bartikian that TD can serve as a reliable fourth century source for describing the situation of Eastern Roman provinces at the time of Constantine, unless one checks this against other sources. As mentioned, it omits provinces which are known to have been part of the Eastern Roman Empire during his reign. Cfr Treadgold 1997, 80 for a map of the Eastern half of the Roman Empire c. 312.

զտապանն, և ի Պանփիւլացոց, ի Կապադովկացոց աշխարհիդ և ի  
 Բիւթանացոց, ի Գաղատացոց աշխարհիդ և ի Պոնտացոց, յԱսիացոց 10  
 աշխարհիդ և յՈնոռնացոց, ի Դրանէ Բիւզանդացոց՝ մինչև ի Դրունս  
 333<sup>v</sup> Հոնաց, և հաւատարիմ սահմանապահք իմ՝ մեծդ Միհրան թագաւոր  
 Վրաց և քաջդ Ուռնայր արքայ Աղուանից, և այլ խառնիճաղանճ բազմու-  
 թիւնքդ առհասարակ, որք ի Սագաստան և ի Դելմաստան, որք էք

9 և] om BbEIKM<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub> 9 Պանփիւլացոց] պանփիւլացոց AA<sub>1</sub>EF պանփիւլացոցն  
 B պանփիւլացոց bF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>T + և Cg om ի<sub>ant</sub> F<sub>5</sub> պանփիւլացոց N<sub>2</sub> պանփիւլացոց  
 N<sub>9</sub> պանփիւլացոց S<sub>1</sub> 9 Կապադովկացոց] կապադովկացոց AA<sub>1</sub>FN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>  
 կապադովկացոցն B կապադովկացոց bF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>mS<sub>1</sub>T om ի<sub>ant</sub> CKM<sub>2</sub>m 9 աշ-  
 խարհիդ] f. տ A<sub>1</sub> om A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>g</sub> 9 և] omt պոնտացոց AA<sub>1</sub> + ի պոնտացոց C om g  
 10 Բիւթանացոց] բիւթանացոց bF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub>T + և CF<sub>3</sub> om ի<sub>ant</sub> Cg 10 Գաղատացոց]  
 գաղատացոց BbF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub>T om ի<sub>ant</sub> CF<sub>5</sub> 10 աշխարհիդ] om B<sub>g</sub>g<sub>g</sub> 10 և] omt  
 հաւատարիմ սահմանապահք C om g 10 Պոնտացոց] պոնդացոց A<sub>1</sub>N<sub>9</sub>  
 պոնտացոց b պոնդացոց F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub> om ի<sub>ant</sub> EFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>gIN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> omt ի դրանէ F<sub>5</sub> պոնտացոց  
 S<sub>1</sub> պոսպացոց T 10 յԱսիացոց] i. om AFgN<sub>9</sub>S<sub>1</sub>T ասիացոց BbN<sub>2</sub>γ ասիացոց  
 EI 11 աշխարհիդ] f. տ BEI 11 յՈնոռնացոց] i. om AA<sub>1</sub>EIN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> ոնոռնացոց  
 BbS<sub>1</sub>T + աշխարհիդ bS<sub>1</sub> ոնսունացոց g 11 Բիւզանդացոց] պիդատոց B  
 պիդանտացոց b պիզանտացոց E բիւզանդացոց FT բիւզանդոց F<sub>3</sub> բիւզանդիդ  
 F<sub>5</sub> պիդանտացոց I բիւզանտացոց N<sub>2</sub> պեդանտացոց S<sub>1</sub> պիզանդացոց γ  
 11 մինչև] f. om F<sub>5</sub> 12 Հոնաց] հունաց F<sub>5</sub> 12 հաւատարիմ] f. + և F<sub>3</sub> +  
 սահմանակալք իմ և γ 12 իմ] om γ 12 մեծդ] f. ա B f. տ I 12 Միհրան] միհրամ  
 S<sub>1</sub> 12 թագաւոր] f. + դ FF<sub>3</sub> 13 քաջդ] f. տ I 13 արքայ] f. + դ BbS<sub>1</sub> թագաւոր  
 F<sub>5</sub> 13 Աղուանից] աղանից A աղանից bgKM<sub>2</sub>m աղուափից I աղվանից S<sub>1</sub>T  
 13 այլ] այլ և N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 13 խառնիճաղանճ] f. ջ CF<sub>3</sub>T 13-14 բազմութիւնքդ] f. om  
 F<sub>5</sub>IT բազմութիւնդ CFF<sub>3</sub>γ բազմութիւն + քղք E բազմութեան K 14 Դելմաստան]  
 դէլմաստան Fy 14 որք] f. om F<sub>5</sub>

10 + ի<sub>ant</sub> [Բիւթանացոց] L<sup>A</sup>I 14 Դելմաստան + 5<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> A

Arc<sup>41</sup> and Pamphylia, in the land of Cappadocia and Bithynia, in the land of Galatia and Pontus, in the land of Asia and Honorias, from the Gates of Byzantion<sup>42</sup> till the Gates of the Huns;<sup>43</sup> also you, my loyal border guards—Great Mihran King of the Georgians, and valiant Urnayr King of the Albanians<sup>44</sup>—as well as other sundry multitudes in general, that are in

<sup>41</sup> The source of this information is the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* (Geography) of Anania Širakac'i. Cfr Anania Širakac'i 1994 (1881, 23 (of the Short Version) and 345 (of the Long version)). According to Yeremian, cited in Hewsens 1992 102 note 48, the idea that Noah built his arc in Phrygia, and specifically in the city of Kibotos as in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, came from the misunderstanding of the word *kibotos*, which could refer both to the arc (and this is what was understood), thus Arc of Noah, and to the wealth of Apamea, since it could also mean 'chest, coffer'.

<sup>42</sup> This is the location of the city of Constantinople. The absence of any mention of Constantinople is significant from a political point of view, as discussed in Chapter 2, pp. 72–76 and reflects a specific agenda of its author, i.e. ignoring the Byzantine Empire and presenting Armenia as the super-power in the East, on a par with the Western Roman Empire.

<sup>43</sup> Gates of the Huns are usually referred to as Ճոքայ պահակ *Čoray pahak* (as, for example, in MX, 2.65, 3.13) or *Durn Čoray* in Armenian sources, rather than *Durn* or *Pahakn honac'* (Watch of the Huns) while its Persian name is Darband: *Dar* meaning door or gate, and *band*—bound, locked, i.e. *locked gate*. Cfr Hewsens 1992, 122 notes 105 and 106. Hewsens specifies that 'this pass was on the Caspian Sea at the point where the Caucasus Mountains descended to the shore leaving a 3 km littoral pass from which nomadic tribes invaded South'. Nalbandyan 1965, 140 says that Darband has often been called *Durn honac'*, but does not indicate the sources that do so. The *Ašxarhac'oyc'* mentions the 'wall of Darband' in connection to the Huns, specifying that the Huns lived North of it. Cfr Anania Širakac'i 1994 (1881), 27. Darband and Darial (which is mentioned in TD below) could both be identified as the Bronze Gates built by Alexander the Great in order to stop the 'Barbarian northern peoples' and Gog and Magog from attacking the civilised world. This would happen, however, at the End of times. Manselli 1983, esp. 498–505; Giardina 1996, esp. 100–105 on the 'Caspian Gates' in Roman sources, and Alexander 1985, 185–192 on the apocalyptic significance of Gog and Magog as well as the location of the Bronze Gates in the Caucasus. On the latter issue cfr esp. Anderson 1932. Given TD's interest and use of apocalyptic motives, placing of these territories under Trdat's control may have had also an apocalyptic dimension. However, this hypothesis is weakened by the fact that the Armenian sources usually do not identify any of the two passes with the 'Gates of the North' built by Alexander the Great. Cfr Schmidt 2008.

<sup>44</sup> The names of Georgian and Albanian kings contemporary to Trdat are found in MX 1981, 2.37 (for Mihran), and Movsēs Kałankatuac'i, cfr MK 1083, 14–15, where it is stated that the King Urayr was converted by St. Gregory the Illuminator.



հաստատել[ա]լ ի [հաստահեղոյս] գաւազանս երկաթի, ի խրոխտ և յանխտ- 15  
նարհելի իշխանութիւնս հռոմայեցոց: Արդ՝ հրամանք էլ ի հզաւր կամաց  
խնոց կայսերս Կոստանդիանէ, զի ի վերայ ձեր (ամենեցուն) կացուցի  
թագաւոր և իշխան միահեծան զմեծ արքայն Տրդատէս, զհամամիտ և  
զհամակարի եղբայրն իմ և զբազկակից բարեկամս, զի հրամանաւ իմով  
տիրեացէ տիեզերաց, իշխան աշխարհակալ և հրամանահան հզաւր՝ առհա- 20  
սարակ ծովու և ցամաքի: Եւ մի՛ ոք իշխեսցէ ի ձեռն ղիմադարձ լինել  
հոյակապ հրամանաց հզաւրին հայոց՝ կայսերակերպին Տրդատայ, որ  
յաղթեաց Հրաչէի բռնամարտիկ բարբարոսի առաջի Դիոկղետիանոսի  
թագաւորի: Արդ՝ ի հասանել հզաւր հրամանաց ինքնակալ և Աստուա-  
ծապսակ թագաւորիս թագաւորաց, ամենեքեան ընդ առաջ ելէք դմա՝ 25

15 հաստատել[ա]լ հաստատել  $A_1F_5N_2N_9$  15 ի] + հաւատս  $bS_1$  15 հաստա-  
հեղոյս] հաստահեղոյս  $A_g$  հաստատահոյլս  $BbI$  հաստահոյլս  $ES_1$  հաստատ  
ահեղոյս  $F_3$  հաստատ տեղոյս  $F_5$  հաստատահեղոյս  $N_2N_9$  հաստահոյլ  $y$  15 գա-  
ւազանս] գաւազանաւս  $F_3F_5$  15 երկաթի] + և  $T$  15 խրոխտ] խորոխտ  $T$   
15-16 յանխտնարհելի] i. om  $EF_3F_5S_1Ty$  16 իշխանութիւնս] իշխանութեանս  
 $b$  16 հռոմայեցոց] հռովմայեցոց  $AA_1CgM_2N_9$  հռոմայեցոց  $BbEF_3F_5S_1$   
հռովմայեցոց  $m$  հռոմայեցոց  $T$  16 հրամանք] f. om  $CFF_3F_5KM_2my$  16 հրամանք  
էլ] հրամանել  $Fg$  16 էլ] էլի  $C$  17 իմոց] մերոց  $F_3F_5$  17 կայսերս]  
կայսեր  $I$  17 կայսերս Կոստանդիանէ] կոստանդիանոսէ կայսերէս  
 $A_g$  17 Կոստանդիանէ] կոստանդայ  $B$  կոստանդէայ  $bIS_1y$  կոստանդիանէ  $C$   
կոստանդէայ  $E$  կոստանդիանոսէ  $F_5$  17 զի] om  $F_3$  17 ձեր] om  $B_g$  17 ամենեցուն]  
ամենայնի և ամենեցոյն  $E$  f. +  $g$   $F_5$  om  $N_2N_9$  18 իշխան] + և  $FF_3$  18 զմեծ]  
+ հզաւր  $B$  + և զհզաւր  $bS_1$  ditt  $EI$  om  $F_3F_5$  18 զհամամիտ] զհամամիայ  $F_3$   
19 զհամակարի] զամակարի  $B$  զհամակամ  $F_5$  զհամագարի  $I$  19 իմ] om  
 $S_1$  19 զբազկակից] զբամակից  $B$  զագգակից  $F$  19 բարեկամս] f. u  $E$  i. +  $q$   
 $FF_3$  19 հրամանաւ իմով] հրաման իմ  $F_5$  19 իմով] իմ  $F_3$  20 իշխան] f.  
+ և  $m$  om  $S_1$  20 աշխարհակալ] իշխանակալ  $S_1$  20 հրամանահան] i. +  $q$   
 $m$  հրաման  $T$  20 հզաւր] om  $y$  21 իշխեսցէ] իշխեսցի  $B$  21 ձեռն] omt  
հրամանաց  $C$  22 հոյակապ] հո ակապ  $A_1$  +  $p_{ant}$   $FF_3$  i. ի  $I$  22 հրամանաց]  
om  $A_{g2}$  22 հայոց] f. +  $u$   $F_3$  22 Տրդատայ] + ղիմադարձ լինել հոյակապ  
հրամանաց  $C$  23 Հրաչէի] հրչէի  $A_gT$  հրգէի  $F_5$  23 բարբարոսի] բարբառոսի  
 $BEF_3T$  23 Դիոկղետիանոսի] դիոկղիտիանոսի  $AEFM_2F$  դէկ լի տիանոսի  $A_1$   
դէոկղետիանոսի  $B$  դէոկղիտիանոսի  $bI$  դէոկղիտիանոսի  $F_3$  դիոկղիտիանոսի  $T$   
24 թագաւորի] կայսեր  $F_5$  f. + և  $S_1$  24 հասանել] հասանիլ  $S_1$  24 հզաւր] om  $A_1A_g$   
+  $p_{ant}$   $N_2N_9$  24 հրամանաց] f. +  $u$   $B_{g2}$  24 ինքնակալ] + և հզօր  $A_g$  ինքակալ  $B$  om  
և  $F_3$  25 առաջ] i. +  $j$   $EF_5gIKM_2mS_1T$  25 ելէք] ելէք  $C$

15 հատատեալ +  $2^0 u w^A A$ ; հաստատել +  $7^0 u w^A K$  18 արք[ա]ն +  $4^0 j w^B K$   
19 զ [հրամանաւ] +  $1^0 ի m^L T$  21 + մի [ոք իշխեսցէ]  $L^A E$ ; իշխեսցէ +  $4^0 u w^A F_5$   
22 կայսերային +  $6^0$  ակեր  $w^A A_1$  24 հասան +  $5^0$  էլ  $w^A T$ ; հրամացս +  $4^0$  ան  $w^A b$   
25 [թագաւորիս] + հայոց but ras  $E$

Sagastan<sup>45</sup> and in Delmasthan and who have been confirmed by our unwavering iron sceptre, by the proud and unbending Roman rule. Henceforth, an order was issued by the mighty will of myself, Emperor Constantine, that I placed the Great King Trdatēs,<sup>46</sup> my brother, who is of the same mind and will as me, and [my] companion-in-arms, as the sole king and ruler above all of you. He shall reign over the universe by my orders as a prince and a potent commander all over seas and lands. And no one among you shall dare to oppose the magnificent orders of the mighty Armenian, the emperor-like Trdat, who defeated Hrač'ē, the violent barbarian, in front of King Diocletian.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, as soon as you receive my powerful orders, of the *autokrator* King of Kings crowned by God, all of you should go out to meet the second

<sup>45</sup> Besides the list of Roman provinces, there are several other toponyms in this Section all related to Eastern or even far Eastern regions of, presumably, the Sasanian Empire. The source of the author's knowledge could have been the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*. In the latter, *Sagastan* is mentioned as one of the regions of Southern Persia, Anania Širakac'i 1994 (1881), 40. However, 'Delmasthan' is not found in that form in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, but as 'Dlmunk' which was a region near the Caucasus mountains, Ibid. These territories were never subdued by the Roman armies, contrary to what TD implies. Thus, Constantine could not summon their 'multitudes' to help Trdat. It is not clear whether the author of TD has a really vague understanding of geography or is purposely boosting the impression of the mighty Roman Empire and, as a consequence, extending the territory placed under Trdat's control quite far into the East.

<sup>46</sup> In Armenian he is usually named Trdat. However, sometimes in this text a hellenised form Trdatēs is also found. I have deliberately maintained this variant spelling in the translation.

<sup>47</sup> The epithet 'emperor-like' is used also in Aa §45 when describing Trdat's fight with the 'King of the Goths' disguised in imperial clothing. The name of this king is not given in Aa. It is found in Yovhan Mamikonean and Uxtanēs. Cfr YM 1941, 71 and Uxtanēs 1871, 80–82 who must have been TD's sources. See also Chapter 2, p. 76 for further discussion on the legend of the combat between King Trdat and the King of Goths.

արքունական ընծայիւք և ամենայն պատուասիրութեամբ, [երկրորդի] թագաւորութեանս իմոյ՝ Տրդատայ արևելեան ահեղանշան թագաւորի: Զի  
 334<sup>r</sup> որպէս մեք յարևմուտս տիրեմք բոլոր աշխարհիս, | նոյնպէս և զՏրդատ  
 յարևելս կացուցաք իշխել տիրաբար բոլոր աշխարհիդ: Միանգամայն կազմ  
 և պատրաստ լերուք՝ ի զէն զինուորութեան արի արանց և ռազմամուտ 30  
 երիվարաց, զինեալք և զարացեալք հզար զարութեամբս մերով: Եւ  
 գումարեսցի՝ք առաջի անպատմելի և անպարտելի քաջիդ Տրդատայ ի  
 գործ պատերազմի, ընդդէմ ատելոյն Քրիստոսի և թշնամոյն իմոյ՝ Շապիոյ  
 մոխրապաշտի և Աստուածամարտ անաւրինի, հանելով և հալածելով 35  
 զզարս նորա անդր քան զՄագանդարան և զՏապրաստան: Նաև զամենայն 35  
 զէնս պատերազմականս, և զհոռք հեծելիդ, և զամենայն պատրաստութիւն  
 երիտասարդաց և երիվարաց՝ հրամանաւ Տրդատայ տարեք ի կողմանս  
 Ատրպատականայ և [Մ]արաղայ: Եւ ժողովեցարո՛ք անհուն բազմութիւնք

26 ընծայիւք ընծայիւք gI 26 երկրորդի] երկրորդս ի  $N_2N_9$  27 թագաւոր-  
 ւթեանս] f. om  $A_{g2}$  27 իմոյ] մերոյ  $\gamma$  27 Տրդատայ] տրդատեա  $A_1$  + ամենայն  
 $A_{g2}$  28 մեք] մենք B + տիրեմք  $\gamma$  28 յարևմուտս] +  $\text{h}_{ant}$   $BbS_1$  28 բոլոր] i.  
 + q  $K_g$  28 աշխարհիս] f. om  $F_5$  29 յարևելս] i. om  $ES_1$  29 աշխարհիդ] f.  
 տ B f. u T 29 Միանգամայն] միանգաման B միայնգամայն  $F_3$  30 լերուք]  
 եղերուք C 30 զինուորութեան] f. + g  $A_gD_g$  30 ռազմամուտ] ռազմատուտ A  
 բազմամուտ  $F_5$  31 զինեալք] f. + u E 31 զարութեամբս] f. om  $CF_{5y}$  f. և  $K_gM_2m$   
 31 մերով] իմով  $F_5$  32 գումարեսցիք] գումարեսցիք B 32 անպատմելի և] om  $A_g$   
 32 անպարտելի] պարտելի  $\gamma$  32 քաջիդ] f. տ  $A_1N_9$  f. om BEI f. և by 33 գործ] f. + u T  
 33 ընդդէմ] ի դէմ  $\gamma$  33 ատելոյն] ատելեացն  $g_gK_gM_2m$  33 և] ի  $F_3$  33 թշնամոյն]  
 թշնամոն B 33 իմոյ] իմ  $FF_3F_5$  33 Շապիոյ] շապուիոյ  $A_1B_{g2}FF_3$  շապուի  $F_5$   
 34 մոխրապաշտի] f. + ն A omt հանելով  $A_{g2}$  34 Աստուածամարտ] f. + ի  $F_3F_5$   
 34 անաւրինի] անօրէնի  $F_5$  34 հանելով] հարելով m 34 հալածելով] հալանելով  
 $F_5$  35 զզարս] i. om BE ըզօրս  $gM_2$  35 զՄագանդարան] զմագանտարան  $CN_9Ty$   
 35 զՏապրաստան] i. om  $F_5$  35 Նաև] և  $F_3F_5$  35 զամենայն] om E 36 զէնս] f.  
 + ն B 36 զհոռք] զհոռք F զհոռք m f. + u  $\gamma$  36 հեծելիդ] f. տ Bb հեծելեքս  $F_5$   
 36 և] om  $g_gK_gM_2m$  37 երիտասարդաց] + տարեք ի կողմանս  $F_3$  37 երիվարաց]  
 + տարեք ի կողմանս  $F_5$  երեվարաց  $N_2$  37 հրամանաւ] f. և C f. + u  $F_5N_2N_9$   
 37 տարեք] արարեք  $Cg_gKM_2m$  om  $F_3F_5$  + որ տաջիք [տանիջիք  $F_5$ ] և տանջիք  
 աներկբայութեամբ և անկեղծաւորութեամբ  $F_3F_5$  38 Ատրպատականայ]  
 աղրպատականայ  $A_1T$  ատրպայկան  $BbIS_1$  ատրպատական  $Cy$  ատրպական E  
 38 և] om Cy 38 [Մ]արաղայ] արաղայ  $AA_1A_gFF_3F_5N_2N_9T$  +  $\text{h}_{ant}$  B 38 Եւ] om  $F_5$   
 38 անհուն] անհամար  $A_1$  38 բազմութիւնք] բազմութեամբ  $Ely$  f. om  $F_3$

35 պար corr տապրաստան C

man in my Kingdom, the formidable Eastern King Trdat, with royal presents and all [necessary] honours. Since as we rule the whole world in the West, so we appointed Trdat to reign as the lord of the whole East. Be immediately prepared and ready to take up arms of warfare of valiant men and war-trained mares, equipped and empowered by our vigorous force! Assemble yourselves in front of the indescribably and invincibly brave Trdat for war against the one hated by Christ and my enemy, the ash-worshipping and infidel Šapuh,<sup>48</sup> chasing and pursuing him beyond the borders of Mazandaran and Taparastan.<sup>49</sup> Also take all supplies for war and the payment of mounted knights, as well as all necessary paraphernalia of young [warriors] and of stallions by Trdat's orders to the region of Atrpatakan and [the city of] Marālay.<sup>50</sup> And assemble an

<sup>48</sup> Šapuh is the enemy against which Trdat and the Roman army fight with joint forces according to MX 1981, 2.87. MX gives credit to Constantine for this victory. It is also significant that in MX Emperor Licinius 'makes Constantine his second man in the East' after these victories, whereas in TD Constantine makes Trdat his second man in the East and then sends him to fight Šapuh. The names are changed but there are close verbal parallels between TD and MX. The qualification 'ash-worshipping' is a derogatory epithet for the Persian King's Zoroastrian beliefs. Moreover, he is called 'one who fights God' which I have liberally translated as 'infidel'.

<sup>49</sup> The enumeration of territories within Persia continues here in connection with Trdat's future campaign with the Persian King Šapuh. The source may be the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* or the author's general knowledge of geography. In the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* 'Taparastan, Dlmunk' (perhaps this is what became Delmestan in TD) and Atrpatakan (the latter mentioned three lines below in TD) are enumerated among Persian territories near the Caucasus mountains, Anania Širakac'i 1994 (1881), 40–41. Mazandaran was a province South of the Caspian Sea. It is interesting that during the Arab domination Mazandaran was identified with and called Taparastan. The name Mazandaran came back into use during the Seljuk domination. Cfr Minorsky 'Mazandaran'.

<sup>50</sup> The name of the city *Marālay* is corrupted to *arālay* in most A family mss, as was discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 198–201. It is spelled as Maraka in T'ovma Arcruni 1985, 374. Some mss omit the conjunction 'and' between Atrpatakan and Marālay. Thus, the sentence could mean either take your war supplies 'to the city of Marālay of Atrpatakan' or 'to Atrpatakan and [the city of] Marālay'. The use of 'Marālay' in the nominative case poses grammatical difficulties since the prepositional phrase *ի կողմսն* governs the gen. case. However, as was mentioned already (Chapter 3, p. 199) the scribes may have taken the ending -ւյ to be that of a gen. sing. The orthography of the city's name is different from that found in T'ovma Arcruni and may be due to Arabic or Turkic influences (cfr Pisowicz 1995 on the phenomenon of the use of 'P' instead of Arabic 'q' in Medieval Armenian due to Turkish influence, even though he analyses material from a later period, i.e. end of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries). Based on this one example I cannot suggest that the author of TD knew and used an Arabic source, but rather that living in Cilicia where contacts with Muslims, including Arab traders, was not unusual he could have had such, supposedly common, geographical knowledge about a wealthy trading centre in Atrpatakan. Based on this, the reading of Marālay (vs. arālay) is preferable. The base text was corrected accordingly.

իբրն զաւագն առ ափն ծովու յաղագս Պահակին հոնաց՝ Դարբանդայ, և Դալիարայ, զի և զնոսա ի մեծն Տրդատ վստահացայ: Ողջ լերու՝ ք՝ մերով ողջ 40 լինելովս»:

8. Վասն որոյ և մեք պսակեցաք զմեծ արքայս Տրդատ կայսերական թագիւս՝ լուսատու ակամբք յարինեալ և մեծամեծ մարգարտաւք շրջապատեալ: Եւ զարդարեցաք զհսկահանգոյն հասակ սորա ծովային ծիրանաւք՝ աւքսոնական մետաքսաւք մարգարտամովճաւք: Եւս և զանգին զաւտի հարն 334<sup>v</sup> իմ[ոյ] հզարի | ածի ընդ մեջ Տրդատայ քաջի: Եւ չորեք հարիւր կրկին 5 [աւ]ժտեցաք զսա կայսերական և զինուորական զարդաւք և զին[աւ]ք մերովք, [արքունադրոշմ] նշանաւոր կառաւք, և ծովային աւդաթոյն

39 զաւագն] f. om  $A_g B_g CFF_3 F_5 T$  39 ծովու] f. + ն  $F_3$  39 յաղագս] յաղակս  $M_2$  39 Պահակին] բարհակին  $E$  39 հոնաց] f. j  $g_g K_g M_2$  39 Դարբանդայ] դարպանդայ  $A$  դարբանտայ  $F$  դարպանտա  $\gamma$  40 Դալիարայ] դարիալայ  $B_g F_5$  omt ի մեծն  $FF_3 F_5$  40 զի] om  $C$  40 Տրդատ] Տրդատայ  $T$  40 վստահացայ] վստահաց  $T$  40 Ողջ] ողջոյն  $C$  40 լերով] + ի տէր  $A$  40 մերով] մերում  $F_5$  40-41 ողջ լինելովս] ողջունելովս  $A_g$  41 լինելովս] f. om  $AF_3 F_5$  8.1 պսակեցաք] պսակեցայք  $KN_9$  1 արքայս] f. ն  $I$  1 Տրդատ] + և  $FF_3$  1 թագիւս] + մերով  $B_g C$  2 ակամբք] ակամբ  $EF$  ակամպ  $F_3$  ակամե  $F_5$  i. + j  $S_1$  2 յարինեալ] i. om  $E$  2 և] [...] և զարդարեցաք  $F$  om  $S_1$  2 մարգարտաւք] մարգարտով  $B_g$  3 զարդարեցաք] զարդարեցայք  $E$  3 զհսկահանգոյն] զսկայհանգոյն  $BE$  զսկայահանգոյն  $bFS_1$  զսկահանկոյն  $F_3$  զհսկայագոյն  $F_5 T$  զհսկայագուն  $gM_2 m$  զսկայ հանգին  $I$  զհայագուն  $K$  զսկայագոյն  $\gamma$  3 հասակ] i. + q  $D_g$  f. + u  $E$  3 սորա] որպէս  $E$  i. դ  $FF_3 F_5$  i. ն  $\gamma$  3 ծովային] ծովածին  $B_g$  3 ծիրանաւք] + և  $B_g$  ծիրանեօք  $F_5 gM_2$  ծիրանեաւք  $m$  3-4 աւքսոնական] օգսոնական  $EK$  աւգսոնական  $I$  4 մետաքսաւք] մետաքսիւք  $A_1$  մետակսաւք  $Bb$  մեծաքսօք  $E$  մետաքսեաւք  $F_5 gI$  4 մարգարտամովճաւք] մարգարտամաւճօք  $AT$  մարգարտամաւճաւք  $A_1$  մարգարտամովճովք  $Bb$  մարգարտամովճօք  $E$  մարգարտովճաւք  $F$  մարգարտովճօք  $F_3 F_5$  մարգարտեա մահճօք  $S_1$  մարգարտամօճօք  $\gamma$  4 Եւս] om  $B_{g2}$  4 զանգին] + զանգիւտ  $C$  4 զաւտի] f. + ն  $F_3 F_5$  4 հարն] f. om  $BC$  5 իմ[ոյ] իմ  $AA_1 FN_2 N_9$  5 չորեք] omt զինվորական  $E$  5 հարիւր] i. om  $gM_2 m$  5 կրկին] անգամ  $A_g$  om  $I$  6 [աւ]ժտեցաք] i. n  $N_2$  յոժարեցաք  $F_5$  6 զսա] om  $F_3 F_5$  6 կայսերական] զարքայս երական  $F_3$  + արքայս  $F_5$  + զարդուք  $\gamma$  6 և զինուորական] om  $A_g$  6 զարդաւք] զարդիւք  $A_g bCFF_3 F_5 S_1$  զարդուք  $BEITy$  6 զին[աւ]ք] զինուք  $A_g BbEIF_3 S_1 \gamma$  զինովք  $N_2 N_9$  7 մերովք] մերաւք  $IN_9$  omt և  $FF_3 F_5$  7 արքունադրոշմ] f. + ն  $AA_g Ty$  արքունական դրոշմս  $N_2 N_9$  7 նշանաւոր] նշաւոր  $I$  7 և] om  $B_g$  7 ծովային] ditt  $B$  7 աւդաթոյն] i. + j  $C$  օթաթոյն  $ES_1$

39 զաւա +  $4^0 q w^B M_2$ ; փն + i. u  $w^A N_2$  8.2 ակամբ +  $4^0 p$  with a different hand  $w^A N_9$ ; արինեալ + i. j  $w^A I$  3 զհսկայգոյն +  $6^0 u w^A T$  5 [չորեք հարիւր] + լծ դճ տնվոր այրուկին զարդիւք  $mg^L C$

unfathomable multitude like the sand at the seashore at the Watch of the Huns—the Darband<sup>51</sup>—and the Darial,<sup>52</sup> since I trusted those to Trdat the Great as well. May you be well [as long] as we are well!’

8. For this reason we crowned the great King Trdat with an<sup>53</sup> imperial crown—embellished with shining gems and surrounded by great pearls.<sup>54</sup> And we adorned his most gigantic stature with sea purple, bright-purple coloured silk [clothes] with pearls [sown] in a wave-pattern. Moreover, I put around the brave Trdat’s waist the precious belt of my mighty father.<sup>55</sup> And we bequeathed him four hundred times<sup>56</sup> with our imperial and military ornaments and arms, carriages with engraved

<sup>51</sup> The ‘Gates of the Huns’ was mentioned above at 7.11–12 in connection to the easternmost extent of territories placed under Trdat’s control. Here the same toponym is mentioned but by its other names, e.g. ‘the Watch of the Huns, i.e. Darband’. Whereas at 7.11–12 we have Դրնւնք Հնւաց (lit. Doors or Gates of the Huns), here the Armenian appellation is Պսիւղի հնւաց and its Persian equivalent Darband is also given. Cfr also note 43.

<sup>52</sup> This is a reference to the Darial Gorge in the Caucasus mountains, named Սլաւաղ դռննւ or Gate of the Alans in Anania Širakac’i 1994 (1881) 26. The author of TD uses its Persian appellation which was Dar-i-Alan or Dar-i-Alanan. Cfr Hewsen 1992, p. 113 note 33 for comments on the history, geography and etymology of the Darial Gorge.

<sup>53</sup> All B family mss and C mention ‘our crown’ which makes the gift of Constantine to Trdat even more significant and charged with imperial symbolism, as discussed in Chapter 2, p. 68.

<sup>54</sup> This and the following two sentences leave no doubt that Trdat is envisioned as an *emperor*, thus, more than a simple king. Not only does Constantine place an ‘imperial crown’ on his head, but the type of silk clothing conferred upon the Armenian King also has clear imperial connotations. For further discussion cfr Chapter 2, pp. 67–70.

<sup>55</sup> On the belt of Constantine’s father Constance cfr Chapter 2, p. 70.

<sup>56</sup> I have not been able to identify the source or symbolism of the number ‘four hundred times’ which sounds unusual. An interesting parallel may be found in the description of the ‘clothing treasury’ of Harun al-Rashid who was told to have ‘four thousand outer garments ... and four thousand turbans’. Cited in Cutler 2005, 206. However, the recurrence of number ‘four’ may just be a coincidence.

երիվարաւք ոսկէսարաւք, սուսերաւք հաւհալենաւք և նիզակաւք վիշա-  
 պամբաւք, գումարտակաւք անգին գոհարաւք և գունագեղ գնդաւք տպա-  
 զիոնաւք, սիզնայաւք խոսուկեփալաւք և յորտընդոստ] ահագնագոչ շիփո- 10  
 րայաւք, երզնէոնաւք ականակապաւք և յ]անոնաւք յորդ[ա]ձայնաւք: Եւ  
 միանգամայն իսկ ամենայն զարդաւք և ամենայն պատրաստութեամբ  
 պաղատան իմոյ պատուասիրեցի զսիրեցեալս իմ:

9. Ընդ որս և մեծափառ դշխոյս մեր Մաքսինտէս և քոյր իմ սքանչելագեղ  
 Կոստասիայ պատրաստեցին ընծայս զարմանագանս, որովք պսակիցի[ն]

8 երիվարաւք] երիվարիւք  $F_3$  8 ոսկէսարաւք] զոսկիասարոք  $F_3$  ոսկէսար  $F_5$   
 ոսկէսարուք  $S_1$  8 սուսերաւք] om  $A_{g2}$  սիւսերոք  $F_3$  8 հաւհալենաւք] հաս  
 հալենոք  $E$  հաւհալենեոք  $F_5$  8 նիզակաւք]  $f$ . om  $EI$  omt անգին  $F_3F_5$  9 գոհարաւք]  
 գուհարաւք  $B$  գաւհարաւք  $b$  + գումարտակոք  $F_3F_5$  9 ն] om  $A_g$  9 գնդաւք]  
 գնտոք  $ES_1$  9-10 տպագիոնաւք] տպագինոք  $EF_5K$  10 սիզնայաւք] սիզայնոք  
 $A$  սիզնաւք  $B$  սիզնայոք  $bES_1$  սիզնատոք  $F_3F_5$  սիզնաոք  $gK$  սիզնայաւք  $I$   
 սիզնաոք  $y$  10 խոսուկեփալաւք] խոսուկեփալաւք  $A_1$  խոսուկեֆալոք  
 $BF_5S_1$  խոսուկեֆալաւք  $b$  խոսուկիֆալաւք  $C$  խոսուկեֆալոք  $E$  խոսաւ կեֆալաւք  
 $F$  խոսօկե ֆալոք  $F_3$  խսսուկեփալոք  $g$  խոսուկեֆալեաւք  $I$  խոսուկե փալոք  $K$   
 խոսուկեփալոք  $M_2m$  խոսուկեֆալաւք  $N_9$  խոսուկեփազօք  $y$  10 ն] om  $B_g$   
 10 որտընդոստ] յորտընդոստ  $AgN_2N_9M_2mT$  որտընդոտ  $C$  որտընտոսք  $E$   
 որտընտոստ  $F_3y$  որոտ ընդ ոստ  $F_5$  զորոտ ընդ ոստ  $K$  10 ահագնագոչ]  
 ահեղագոչ  $BbEIS_1$  ահագոչ  $y$  10-11 շիփորայաւք] շիփորայիւք  $F_3g_gKM_2m$  +  
 զանտօք  $F_3$  + և զանտօք  $F_5$  11 երզնէոնաւք] երզնէոնաւք  $BCK$  զնէնոք  $F_3$   
 եզնէոնոք  $F_5$  11 ականակապաւք] om  $A_g$  11 յ]անոնաւք]  $i$ . +  $q$   $AA_1T$   
 զանդօք  $F_3$  զանտօք  $F_5$  զլանոնաւք  $N_2$  11 յորդ[ա]ձայնաւք] յորդաձայնիւք  
 $A_gF_3$  յորդայնաւք  $N_2$  12 միանգամայն] միանգամ  $K_g$  12 իսկ] om  $F_3$   
 12 ամենայն] չորս  $n$ .  $AT$  12 զարդաւք] զարդիւք  $BbFF_3F_5g_gIKM_2mS_1$  զարդուք  
 $E$  12 ամենայն] + պաղատան իմոյ  $C$  + պաղատանաւք իմոյ  $F$  + պազատատօք  
 իմոյ  $F_3$  + պայատաւք իմով  $F_5$  12 պատրաստութեամբ]  $f$ . +  $p$   $y$  13 պաղատան]  
 պալատին  $E$  13 պաղատան իմոյ] ի պաղատն իմ  $A_g$  պայազատան իմոյ  
 և պաղատան իմոյ  $bS_1$  om  $CFE_3F_5$  13 պատուասիրեցի] պատրաստեցի  $F_3$   
 13 զսիրեցեալս] զսիրելեալս  $C$  զսիրելիս  $I$  զսիրեցեալքս  $S_1$  9.1 որս]  $i$ . +  $j$   $S_1$  1 ն]  
 om  $g_gKM_2m$  1 մեծափառ]  $f$ . +  $u$  + իմ  $BbS_1$  1 դշխոյս] դշխոս  $F_5$  1 Մաքսինտէս]  
 մաքսինտէս  $A_1CF$  մաքսին տէս  $F_3$  մաքսինէս  $ditt$   $F_5$  մաքսինտեայ  $g_gK_gM_2m$   
 մաքսէնտէս  $S_1$  մապսիտէմ  $y$  1 քոյր իմ] քոյրս  $B_g$  1 սքանչելագեղ] սքելագեղս  $I$   
 2 Կոստասիայ] կոստասեայ  $F_5$  2 ընծայս]  $i$ . +  $q$   $F_5$  ընծայս  $Ig$  2 զարմանագանս]  
 զարմագանս  $F_3$  2 որովք]  $f$ . om  $F_5Iy$  2 պսակիցի[ն]] պսակեցի  $ABbEIS_1Ty$   
 պսակիցի  $A_1FgN_2$  պսակեցի  $CKM_2mF_3$  պսակիցից + իմ  $N_9$

8 հաւհալենոք +  $8^0$  ե  $w^A F_5$  10 խոսուկեփալաւք +  $2^0$   $u$   $w^A N_2$ ; խոսուկեփալոք +  $2^0$   $u$   
 $w^A T$  13 պատուասիրեցի +  $4^0$   $u$   $w^A T$

royal signs and airborne sea-horses with golden bridles,<sup>57</sup> with *hawhaleni* swords<sup>58</sup> and spears forged in the blood of dragons, with a whole host of priceless gems and colourful topazolite sphere-shaped gems, golden-headed<sup>59</sup> standards and thunderously loud trumpets, organs decorated with precious stones and mellifluous lyres.<sup>60</sup> And once more with all the decor and preparation of my palace I honoured my beloved.

9. And so did our glorious Queen Mak'sintēs and my graceful sister Kostasia, who prepared dazzling gifts with which to adorn<sup>61</sup> the beautiful

<sup>57</sup> The expression 'airborne sea-horses with golden bridles' is confusing and difficult to interpret in the given context, not least because the word *nułtuwup* (*oskēsar*: a composite word derived from 'golden' and 'sar', the latter being an un-identifiable word) is a hapax and its meaning must be derived from the context. I have provided a literal translation here. According to NBH *oskēsar* means 'golden apparel, e.g. bridles, saddle, etc. of horses'. Bartikian 2004, 101–102 remarks that the adjective 'airborne' denotes the swiftness of horses. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i also refers to fast horses (given as presents to the Armenian princes or kings from Arabic rulers) with epithets alluding to air, cfr YD 1912, 139 and 193. Bartikian interprets the meaning of 'sea-horses' and *oskēsar* based on Ancient Greek mythology according to which 'swift, foaming sea-waves were believed to be caused by fast moving mares', usually identified as the horses of Poseidon. Then, he quotes the Illiad where Poseidon is said to have harnessed 'swift horses which had golden manes' and suggests that *oskēsar* renders the Greek expression for 'golden manes'. Bartikian thinks that the source of TD here is not necessarily the Illiad but could be any ancient (obviously pre-Christian) source. It still remains unclear why 'sea-horses' should be mentioned among the presents of Trdat (especially if they had such strong Pagan mythological connotations), why the Greek expression for 'horses with golden manes' (if that is indeed what the author of TD had in mind) should be rendered as *oskēsar* in Armenian and what is the origin and meaning of the word 'sar' in this context.

<sup>58</sup> I have purposely not translated the Armenian *hawhaleni* here. According to HAB it means 'huge'. This sword, known in popular tales as 'hawluni sword', was the subject of many legends and oral traditions connected with the name of Trdat or St. Gregory the Illuminator. Cfr Łanalanyan 1969, 368–369 and Russell 2001. The *hawhaleni* swords and the next item, 'spears forged in the blood of dragons' betray the influence of popular legends on this text. Swords embellished with precious gems are often mentioned among gifts bestowed upon Armenian princes or kings by Byzantine or Arab rulers, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 67–68 for sources and discussion. On such occasions musical instruments, especially loud trumpets and drums, are also referred to. Among other sources, Vg § 179, p. 108, specifies that Trdat traveled to Italy with royal banners and loudly sounding trumpets.

<sup>59</sup> The Armenian here directly transcribes the Greek χρυσοκέφαλος as *xrsukep'alawk'*/*xrsukefalawk'* (in instr. pl. in Armenian).

<sup>60</sup> The author uses two words that may indicate the same instrument. In one case he uses the Armenian *ergehon* and in another case a transcription from Greek, e.g. *lanon*.

<sup>61</sup> For problems of the verbal form used in this clauses, cfr Chapter 3, pp. 314–315.



բամբիշն արնելային վայելչավայլ թագուհին <մեծն> Աշխեն և չքնաղագեղ  
 արիորդն Հայոց Մեծաց Խոսրովիդուխտ դաւսիճայն, որոց առաքեցան  
 թագս և պսակս յակունդ[ե]լայ, և յասպիսս [ամբարհաւաճատեսիլս], և  
 աղամանդէս բազմաքանքարս, և բահուանդս բիրակունս, և վարսակալս  
 վայելչավառս, և այլ զարդս բազումս յականց և յապրիշմեղինաց՝ գործ  
 335՝ ճարտարաց անգիւտք և անգինք, դուղէս | դաղմատականս հարիւր և  
 քսան՝ բարձեալ ջորւոջ վաթսնից արքայականի[ց]: Նոյնպէս պսակեցի  
 զորդիացեալն իմ՝ զԽոսրով գրամիկ իմ, իմով զաւակաւս Կոստանդինեաւ, 10

3 բամբիշն] զամբիշն  $F_3$  i. + q  $F_5$  i. պ I բամբիշն y 3 արնելային] արնելեան  
 $F_5y$  3 վայելչավայլ] վայելչափայլ  $EK_gS_1$  վայելչավայլ  $F_3F_5$  վայելնավայլ  
 y 3 թագուհին] թագուհոյն C 3 մեծն] f. om  $A_1FgKM_2m$  i. + q  $F_5$  om  
 $N_2N_9$  3 Աշխեն] f. + ն  $A_g$  3 չքնաղագեղ] չգնաղագեղ A չքնաղագ B  
 չքնաղ C չգնագեղ E չքնագեղ  $F_3$  չգնաղագեղն K չշնաղագեղ T 4 արիորդն]  
 որիորդն E որորդն  $F_3$  օրի որդի K 4 Խոսրովիդուխտ] խոսրովիթուխտ  
 $CF_3F_5$  խոսրովիթուղտ E 4 դաւսիճայն] դօսիճան  $F_3$  om  $F_5$  դաւժիճայն y  
 4 առաքեցան] աքեց  $F_3$  առաքեցի  $F_5$  5 թագս] թագոյ E 5 յակունդ[ե]լայ]  
 յակունդայ  $A_1N_2$  յակունթեա[+ j  $K_g$ ]  $A_g$  յակունդեա C յակինթեայ  $F_5$  յակունդէ  
 y 5 յասպիսս] յասպիսոս  $F_3$  յասպիսեա  $F_5$  յասպիսո  $gM_2m$  յայսպիսոյ K  
 յայսպիսս  $S_1$  5 ամբարհաւաճատեսիլս] ամպարհաւաճատեսիլս F ամպար  
 հաւաճայոեսիլս  $F_3$  ամբարհավաճ տեսիլս K ամբարհաւաճեա տեսիլս  $N_2$   
 ամբարհավաճեայ տեսիլս  $N_9$  6 աղամանդէս] անղամանդէս  $ACFF_3F_5T$   
 աղամանտէս B անղամաղայս  $gKM_2m$  աղամանտէս I անղամանդէայս M  
 աղամանդայս y 6 բազմաքանքարս] i. մ  $F_3$  բազմաքանտակս քանքարս  
 + անթիւս y 6 բահուանդս] f. om E բահուաւանդս F բահու աւանդս  $F_3$   
 բակսաւանդս  $F_5$  [...] 9.8 անգիւտք F 6 բիրակունս] om  $F_3$  բերակունս  
 $gM_2m$  7 վայելչավառս] վայելջավառս A վայելնավառս E վայելչավաճառս  $F_3F_5$   
 վայելչափառս K 7 այլ] om B i. + q  $F_5$  7 յականց] i. om  $EF_5K_g$  7 յապրիշմեղինաց]  
 յապրիշմեղինաց A յապրիշիմեղինաց b յապրըշմեղինաց E ապրշմեղինաց  
 $F_3$  ապրշմեղինաց  $F_5$  յապրիշեղինաց K յապրեշիմեղենաց  $S_1$  յապրիշմեղենաց T  
 7 գործ] f. + p E 8 ճարտարաց] + և K +  $\text{h}_{ant}$   $F_3F_5$  8 անգիւտք] f. om  $ACy$  [...]  $N_9$   
 8 դուղէս] դուղէնս  $B_{g2}$  f. + u C դուլէս  $F_3K$  դիւլէս  $F_5$  դուլէս  $g_gM_2m$  դուլէնս y  
 9 բարձեալ] բարձ y 9 ջորւոջ] +  $\text{h}_{ant}$   $CEFF_3F_5$  f. վ E f. g  $gKM_2my$  i. ձ  $S_1$  9 վաթսնից]  
 վացսի B վացնից b  $F_5IS_1$  վանից E վատսնից  $N_9$  9 արքայականի[ց]] om  $A_g$  i. + j B  
 արքայականաց C արքայեականից I f. om  $N_2N_9$  9 Նոյնպէս] i. u  $A_1K$  + ես F + և  
 ես  $F_3F_5$  որպէս  $S_1$  9 պսակեցի] + և  $K_gM_2$  10 զորդիացեալն] զորիորդացեալն  
 F զօրիորդացեալն  $F_3F_5$  10 գրամիկ] գրամիկ  $AA_1T$  om  $F_5$  գրամի  $S_1$  f. + ն y  
 10 իմ] om  $A_gCFF_3F_5$  10 իմով] f. + u  $S_1$  10 Կոստանդինեաւ] կոստանդինաւ  
 $A_1B$  կոսդանդինեաւ E կոստանդիեաւ  $F_3$  կոստանդիաւ  $F_5$  կոստանդինս y

5 յասպիս +  $6^0 u^B C$  8 դուլէս +  $6^0 u$  (?) K; դամատականս +  $2^0 \eta w^A F_5$  10 զխորով  
 +  $3^0 u w^A C$  10 զաւակաւս +  $3^0 u w^A g$

great Queen of the East Ašxēn and the charming Princess of Great Armenia, the maiden<sup>62</sup> Xosroviduxt. Crowns and diadems of hyacinth, pleasant looking jaspites and weighty diamonds, bracelets with numerous gems, beautiful hair clips and many other plentiful decorations of gems and silk, the priceless and unattainable work of skillful [craftsmen], and one hundred and twenty Dalmatian slaves mounted on sixty royal mules were sent to them. In the same way I crowned my adopted grandson<sup>63</sup> Xosrov with my son Constance, which is something<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The word 'maiden' is an interpretation for *dawsičay/dawsiṣay*, possibly a loan word from New Persian, itself stemming from Pahlavi *doshizag*. Cfr the relevant entry in Appendix 2.

<sup>63</sup> The word 'grandson' is an interpretation. The Armenian text has an un-identified hapax *grampk, gramik, etc.* Cfr Appendix 2.

<sup>64</sup> The sense of the subordinate clause is not clear. I have translated the conjunction *np ḥūy* as 'which is something', assuming that it refers to the coronation of Xosrov by Constance and Constantine. I am grateful to Dr. Sergio La Porta for his helpful suggestions about the translation here.

որ ինչ մանկական հասակին է ցանկալի և արևելից անընդունել և անտեսանելի: Իսկ հզար հազարապետաց հայոց պարզեցաւ ի մերմէ թագաւորութենէս նշանակս և դրաւ զս դադմատացիս, և վիշապազլուիս փողս և փանդիոնս բարձրաբարբառս, և զէնս և զարդս պատերազմականս արի արանց և երևելի երիվարաց, նոյզք ծովայինք և պահանգք պատենազէնք 15 անգծելի երկաթոյ, և այլ անթիւ և անհամար աւժիտս ոսկոյ և արծաթոյ և ականց պատուականաց, սլեհից սպայից և կազմուածոյ կանանց, ջոկոց ձիոց և բեռանց թագաւորական հանդերձանաց, որովք յոփացուցաք զեաթանաստուն հազարսն Հայաստանեաց:

10. Պարզեցի և սիրելի եղբարն իմ[ոյ] Տրդատայ զսիրեցեալն իմ զԲերթղէ[ի]էմ՝ զքաղաքն մեծին Դաւթի, զտեղի ծննդեանն Քրիստոսի ի սրբոյ կուսէն: Եւ սեփական աշխարհի սահմանեցի նմա զՊռոտոն

11 որ] +  $h_{ant} AB_g$  11 մանկական] մանկան BbI մանկանն E մանգական  $gM_2$  մանկա  $S_1$  11 ցանկալի] ցանգալի  $gM_2m$  11 արևելից] արևելեան  $y$  11 անընդունել] անըտել  $N_2N_9$  11-12 անտեսանելի] f. om  $F_5$  12 հզար] i. om E 12 հազարապետաց] հայրապետիս  $F_3F_5$  12 պարզեցաւ] f. p  $F_3F_5$  13 դրաւ զս] f. մ  $A_1$  դրոշակս  $F_3F_5$  14 փանդիոնս] փանդիոս  $A_1F$  f. + ն  $BN_9$  փանիոնս CE փանտիոնս  $gM_2m$  փանդիոն I փանտիոս K փանտիոս  $y$  14 բարձրաբարբառս բարձր բարբառս A բարձրաբառս  $N_2N_9$  15 երևելի] om  $A_1B_g$  15 երիվարաց] երիվարաց C +  $h_{ant}$  E f. + ն  $F_3F_5$  15 նոյզք] նոյք  $AFgKM_2mTy$  նոյդ E ժայք  $F_3$  ծայք  $F_5$  15 ծովայինք] ծովայիք  $F_3$  15 պահանգք] պահանք  $AA_1A_gT$  սրանկք BbS<sub>1</sub> պահանդք C արակք E պահապանք  $FF_3F_5$  սրանոք I սրանք  $y$  16 անգծելի] անգձելի  $F_3K$  i. + j  $y$  16 ն] omտ ականց C 16 անթիւ] f. + u E 16 անթիւ և անհամար] անթիվմար  $A_1$  17 ն] + յամենայն  $g_gK_gM_2$  + ամենայն m 17 ականց] i. + j Bby 17 պատուականաց] պատականաց  $M_2m$  17 սլեհից] սրլեհից C i. n  $F_5$  սլեհից  $S_1$  17 սպայից] ասպայից C սպահահից  $F_3$  պահակից  $F_5$  սպահից  $y$  17 ն] om  $A_1B_gN_9$  17 կազմուածոյ] կազմածոյ  $A_g$  +  $h_{ant}$  + ն  $F_3$  17 կանանց] կանաց  $A_1BC$  17 ջոկոց] ջորոց  $A_g$  ջոկաց  $CFF_3F_5$  18 ձիոց] ձիաց C 18 ն] om  $A_g$  18 բեռանց] բռանց  $F_3$  18 հանդերձանաց] հանդերձականաց CE 18 որովք] f. om  $A_gF_5$  19 Հայաստանեաց] հայաստանեայց  $A EFF_5N_2$  հայաստանաց Bm 10.1 եղբարն] f. u B 1 իմ[ոյ]] իմ  $AA_1bEg[KM_2mN_2N_9Ty]$  1 զսիրեցեալն] զսիրելին  $y$  1 իմ] om m 2 զԲերթղէ[ի]էմ] զԲերդէմ  $AN_9T$  զԲերդաէմ  $A_1$  զԲերդէմ  $CN_2$  զԲերդէմ E զԲերդէմ F զԲերդէմ  $F_3$  զԲերդահէմ  $F_5$  զԲերդահէմ  $gKM_2m$  զԲերդէմ  $IS_1$  զԲերդահէմ  $y$  2 զքաղաքն] f. om  $A_gB$  i. om  $F_5KN_2T$  2 մեծին] om  $A_g$  f. om  $F_3$  2 զտեղի] f. + ն E 2 ծննդեանն] ծնդեանն B 3 կուսէն] + մարիամայ BbIy + մարիամայ աստուածածնին  $S_1$  3 սեփական] սեփական  $BCF_3T$  սեփական E

14 փանտիոս +  $7^0$  ն  $w^A m$  15 պահանք +  $5^0$  q  $w^A N_2$  16 համար + i. ան  $w^A M_2$  19 հայաստանեաց +  $10^0$  j  $w^B F_5$ ; հայաստանաց +  $8^0$  է  $w^A T$  10.1 պարզեցի +  $4^0$  ն  $w^A g$

desirable for youth, and unusual and not seen in the East. And on behalf of our Kingdom we donated to mighty Armenian generals Dalmatian signs and banners, dragon-headed trumpets and sonorous *p'andirns*,<sup>65</sup> and arms and military gear of brave men and stupendous stallions, sea-mares and protective armour of impervious iron, as well as other countless and abundant gifts in gold, silver and precious gems, arms for knights, ornaments<sup>66</sup> for women, select horses and loads of royal vestments, with which we indulged the seventy thousand that came from Armenia.

10. I also donated to my dear brother Trdat my beloved Bethlehem, the city of great David<sup>67</sup> and the birthplace of Christ from the Holy Virgin, and declared the First Armenia and Cappadocia which were taken away

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<sup>65</sup> A string musical instrument. This word is usually used to translate the Greek *kitar* according to NBH.

<sup>66</sup> In Armenian 'ornament' is in singular, but I have translated it into plural according to the general sense of the sentence.

<sup>67</sup> The donation of Bethlehem to Trdat had significant implications from the point of view of royal ideology in Cilician Armenia. It was the city of 'great David' and the Bagratid princes claimed their ancestry from King David's house. Cilician rulers, in their turn, were anxious to emphasise the continuity between themselves and the Bagratids. On the other hand, the first King of Jerusalem was crowned in Bethlehem and the author of TD, again, consciously put the Armenian King in a position of supremacy by claiming that the Armenians had rights over Bethlehem going back to the time of Constantine the Great. For further discussion and bibliography cfr Chapter 2, pp. 71–72.

Արմենիան, զԿապաղո[վ]կիայ, զոր հանեալ էր ի հայոց Պոմպէի Կեսարիայ: Եւ այս է բուն հայրենիքն Տրդատայ. ի լեռնէն Առճիոյ՝ մինչև ցլեառն 5  
Արարատեայ, և ի Գայլ գետոյն Ելեւսպոնտացոյց մինչև ցիգար գետն Տիգրիս  
335<sup>Y</sup> մեծ: Իսկ ի կողմանցն քո հաստանայ, որչափ | բազուկն իւր բաւեցէ, և  
թուրն թափեցէ: Խնդրեցի յարքայէն Տրդատայ արս երեք հարիւր, հասա-  
կաւ և արիութեամբ հոյակապք, զորս և արմէնք անուանեցի: Եւ կար-  
գեցի ի սպասաւորութիւն արքունական գահոյից իմոց՝ հզարիչք 10

4 Արմենիան] f. + և  $A_1CFgIKM_2S_1y$  արմենիանն  $AbN_2N_9Ty$  արմէիանն BE  
արմէիանն b արմենիայն  $F_3$  արմենեայն  $F_5$  արմաւէնեան  $K_g$  + և y 4 զԿապա-  
ղո[վ]կիայ] զկապաղոկիա  $AA_1FKN_2N_9$  i. om f. om C f. om F զկապաղովկեայ  $F_5$   
զկապատոկիայ T 4 էր] om E 4 ի] om  $F_5$  4 Պոմպէի Կեսարիայ] պոմպէ  
իկերարիայ A մոմպէ եկեսարիայ E պոմպէ ի կեսարիա F պոմպէ ի կեսարիայ T  
պոնպէի կեսարի y 4 Կեսարիայ] կեսարեայ  $CF_5gKM_2$  5 է] om I 5 բուն] բունն F  
om  $F_5$  5 Տրդատայ] տրդատեայ B 5 լեռնէն] omt այրարատայ  $A_g$  f. om B լեռնէն  
 $bEF_5K$  5 լեռնէն Առճիոյ] om  $\text{h}_{ant}$  արճոյ լեռնէն y 5 Առճիոյ] առճիշոյ A արճոյ  
 $BbES_1$  առճոյ CF այճոյ  $F_3$  աճոյ  $F_5$  արճիատոյ I առճիոյ  $N_9$  արճիոյ T 5 ցլեառն]  
i. om +  $\text{h}_{ant}$   $B_g$  6 Արարատեայ] արարատայ  $A_1F_5$  այրարատայ  $A_g$  այրայրադայ  
 $BbS_1$  այրարատեայ E այրայրադայ I այրարատ y 6 և] om  $B_g$  6 Գայլ] գալ Eg om  $\text{h}_{ant}$   
 $F_3$  6 գետոյն] f. om  $F_5$  6 Ելեւսպոնտացոյց] Ելեւսպոնդացոյց  $A_1$  երեւսպոնտացոյց  
 $bS_1$  Ելեւսպոնդացոյց C Ելեւսպոնտացոյց  $EF_3$  Ելեւսպոնտացոյց F Ելեւսպոնդացոյց  $F_5$   
Ելեւսպոնդացոյց  $gKM_2m$  Ելեւսպոնտացոյց I Ելեւսպոնտացոյց y 6 ցիգար] i. om  
+  $\text{h}_{ant}$   $B_g$  om  $FF_3F_5$  f. + և  $K_gM_2$  6 գետն] գետոն B i. + g  $FF_3F_5$  6-7 Տիգրիս մեծ]  
մեծ տիգրիս  $ggK_gF_5M_2m$  7 մեծ] f. + և  $S_1$  7 ի] om y 7 կողմանցն] f. om  $A_gBF_3F_5$   
7 քո] քաւ F քո  $F_3$  7 հաստանայ] հաստանայ  $F_3$  հաստանեայ  $F_5T$  7 բազուկն]  
om բազուկն իւր  $F_3$  f. om Ty 7 և] om  $A_g$  7-8 թափեցէ] + նմա եղիցի  $B_{g2}$   
8 Խնդրեցի] + և եւ  $A_1S_1$  + եւ  $D_g$  + և E 8 յարքայէն] +  $\text{h}_{ant}$   $ABbCFF_3IN_2N_9S_1Ty$  i.  
om  $EF_5S_1$  8 արս] f. p  $F_3F_5$  այրս  $M_2m$  8 հարիւր] ն. E դճ  $F_5$  9 հոյակապք] om  $FF_3$   
քաջ  $F_5$  f. om y 9 զորս] f. om E om  $FF_3F_5$  9 և] om  $S_1$  10 սպասաւորութիւն] om  $\text{h}_{ant}$   
սպասաւորութեան  $F_5$  10 արքունական] յարգունական  $S_1$  10 գահոյից] գահից  
y 10 իմոց] + զորեղ  $A_g$  om  $FF_3F_5$  10 հզարիչք] omt [իմ  $g_g$ ] ի տուէ  $A_g$  f. om y

4 + ի հայոց  $m^R m$ ; +  $\text{h}_{ant}$  [հայոց]  $L^A IT$  6 հզարն f. և ras E 7 հաստանա +  $2^0 j w^A$   
E 8 արքայէն + i. j  $w^A T$  10 զարիչք + i. h  $w^A M_2$

from Armenians by Caesar Pompey as his own territory.<sup>68</sup> And this is the proper homeland of Trdat: from Mount Argaeus<sup>69</sup> till Mount Ararat,<sup>70</sup> from River Gayl<sup>71</sup> of Hellespont till the mighty river, great Tigris. And on your part [may your territory] expand as much as his arm suffices and his sword slays.<sup>72</sup> I also requested from King Trdat three hundred men of great stature and distinguished in bravery, whom I called *armenk'* and appointed [them] to the service of my imperial throne as sentinels of

<sup>68</sup> These geographical indications and the information that Caesar Pompey had conquered them from the Armenians may all derive from MX 1991, 1.14 and 2.15 or any source dependent on MX, such as Samuēl Anec'i 1893, 43–44. In MX 1.14 Xorenac'i tells that the legendary ruler Aram reached and conquered territories including the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Upon leaving these territories to his trusted men he ordered the inhabitants to learn Armenian and this is why, Xorenac'i explains, the region is called 'zProtin Armenian' by the Greeks. Here the city of Mažak' was built, later called Caesarea. In 2.15 we learn that Caesar Pompey conquered the city of Mažak', which the author of TD could have understood in a larger sense, i.e. that he conquered the 'Protin Armenian' where the city was located. In Samuēl Anec'i 1893 the form 'zprotin Armenian' is spelled exactly as in TD. Moreover, Anec'i (p. 44) attests that during the reign of Aram: 'other historians say' that the First Armenia included territories from Cappadocia [the city of] Caesarea until the region of Pontus [at the time of the legendary King Aram]. TD could have combined the information about these territories found in texts by various historians.

<sup>69</sup> Mt. Argaeus is near the city of Caesarea/Kayseri. It is to be noted that TD's orthography of the mountain's name (employed in gen. sing.) as *Unđhnj/Unđh2nj/Upđnj/Unđnj* stands closer to its Turkish pronunciation (Erçiyas Dag) rather than, for example, that found in the *Ašxarhač'oyc'*, e.g. *Unql'unu* or *Unql'nu*.

<sup>70</sup> From the context it seems that by Mt. Ararat the author means what we call Mt. Ararat today, located in the historical province of Ayarat, habitually called Masis in Armenian sources. However, the mention of Mt. Ararat with this name in Armenian indicates the author's possible dependence on a Latin source or even oral traditions. This remains a hypothesis, since as indicated by Paul Peeters 1920, 328–336, even thirteenth and fourteenth century European travellers to Armenia did not identify Masis with Mt. Ararat. William of Rubruck describes popular legends about Noah's Arc on the Masis, but never calls this mountain Ararat. Jackson-Morgan 1990, 267–268. However, one may bring forth a passage from T'ovma Arcruni 1985, 393 where both names are juxtaposed: '*leřanc'n Ayaratean azatn Maseac'*—[in front of] the mountains of Ayarat, azat Masis'. T'ovma identifies Masis as the mountains of the region of Ayarat. TD is different in that it simply names 'Mt. Ararat'. Further research on the use of the name Ararat and identification of its location in medieval sources may shed more light on this issue.

<sup>71</sup> Greek Lykos or Latin Lycus.

<sup>72</sup> This is a garbled phrase in Armenian. In the principal clause Constantine refers to Trdat in 2nd p. sing. *hul' hnq'uwighu pnj* (on your part) as if directly speaking to him, but in the subordinate clause he switches to the 3rd p. sing., as if telling the story to someone else, *puqmlyu hnp* (his arm). I have maintained this ambiguity in the English translation.

զլիտյ իմոյ և թիկնապահք իմ ի տուէ և ի գիշերի, և առաջապահեստք իմ ի պատերազմի:

11. Ժամ է այսուհետև զալ ինձ ի տեսիլս և ի յայտնութիւնս: Եցոյց ինձ տէր, զի յետ բազում ամաց իշխանքն հայոց տարագրեն գտունն Տրդատայ և ինքեանք տարագրին ի հայրենեաց իւրեանց և անկանին ընդ լծով ծառայութեան այլ ազգեաց զամս բազումս: Եղու՛կ, որ դիպ[եաց]ին յայնմ ժամանակի, զի տառապանաւք տառապի ազգն (և աշխարհն) հայոց մինչև յելս հոգւոց 5 իւրեանց, որոց փրկութիւն ի տեսնէ եղիցի և աւգնութիւն յազգատոհմէ իմմէ: Բայց այս եղիցի ի ժամանակս յետինս, յորում յայտնեցին նշխարք սրբոց Սուրբասեանցն քաւշից, զոր[ս] եւ ա[մ]փոփեցի առաջնորդութեամբ հրեշտակի տէառն ի Բագրևանդ զաւառի:

11 թիկնապահք] f. om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 11 առաջապահեստք] f. om A<sub>1</sub> i. + j bS<sub>1</sub> i. + j f. om F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 11 իմ] om K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 11.1 Ժամ է] + subtitle Յաղագս ավերածոյ աշխարհիս հայոց. վայ մեղաւոր Աբրահամ գրչիս γ 1 Ժամ է] + ինձ A<sub>1</sub>B<sub>g2</sub>CF<sub>3</sub> պատմէ F<sub>3</sub> 1 ինձ] om A<sub>1</sub>B<sub>g</sub>CF<sub>3</sub> 1 յայտնութիւնս] + զոր AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>T om ի<sub>ant</sub> A<sub>g</sub>BbEF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>Iy 1 Եցոյց] i. է C 1 Եցոյց ինձ տէր] տէր եցոյց ինձ g<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub> եցոյց ինձ K<sub>g</sub> ետ եցոյց ինձ m 1 զի] om A<sub>g</sub> 2 ամաց] ժամանակաց F<sub>5</sub> 2 իշխանքն] f. om AF<sub>3</sub>γ 2 տարագրեն] աւարեն B + և աւարեն b տարագրին F<sub>3</sub> 2 գտունն] f. u AA<sub>1</sub>FN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T f. om B 3 տարագրին] տարագրեն T 3 հայրենեաց] հայրենաց BI 3 և] om γ 3 անկանին] անգանին gM<sub>2</sub> 3 լծով] ի ծառայութիւն F<sub>3</sub> լուծով I 4 ազգեաց] ազգաց AE omt եղուկ F<sub>5</sub> 4 զամս] i. om A<sub>g</sub> 4 դիպ[եաց]ին] դիպիցին ABbEgM<sub>2</sub>S<sub>1</sub>T դիպեցին Imy դիպին N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 4 յայնմ] + ի<sub>ant</sub> AD<sub>g</sub>IKy յայմս B i. om f. om g<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m f. om Ky 4 ժամանակի] f. + և A<sub>g</sub>B<sub>g2</sub>F<sub>3</sub>T 5 տառապանաւք] տառապանօք T 5 տառապի] տառապին F<sub>3</sub> տառապեցի γ 5 ազգն] om CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 5 և] om A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 5 աշխարհն] om A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 5 յել[ս] + ի<sub>ant</sub> D<sub>g</sub>E i. om E i. g F<sub>5</sub> 5 հոգւոց] ոգոց CEF 6 իւրեանց] նոցա F<sub>5</sub> 6 աւգնութիւն] օգնականութիւն EF<sub>3</sub>Iy 6 յազգատոհմէ] + ի<sub>ant</sub> Bb յազգտոհմէ E յազգատոմէն F ի յազկատոհմէ F<sub>3</sub> f. + և F<sub>5</sub> i. om S<sub>1</sub> 7 իմմէ] իմէ BF<sub>3</sub> om F<sub>5</sub> 7 Բայց] բաց g 7 ի] om ES<sub>1</sub> 7 յորում] յորժամ A<sub>g</sub>B<sub>g</sub> 8 սրբոց] f. + և T 8 Սուրբասեանցն] սուրբասացն Ay սուրբասանցն A<sub>1</sub>BFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>9</sub>Ty սուրբասանց A<sub>g</sub>bEIS<sub>1</sub> սիւրբասեանց C սուրբազանց K 8 քաւշից] f. + և B<sub>g2</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mT om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 8 զոր[ս]] f. om AA<sub>g</sub>N<sub>2</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 8 եւ] + զնացեալ D<sub>g</sub> 8 ա[մ]փոփեցի] անփոփեցի ABbgin<sub>2</sub> ամփոփեցի F<sub>3</sub> 9 հրեշտակի] f. + և F<sub>3</sub>I 9 Բագրևանդ] զարևանդ A<sub>g</sub>

11 առաջապահեսք + 10<sup>0</sup> տ w<sup>A</sup> E 11.2 գունն + 1<sup>0</sup> տ w<sup>A</sup> B 3 + և [անկանին] L<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub> 4 ազգաց + 3<sup>0</sup> է w<sup>A</sup> C 5 ազգ + 3<sup>0</sup> և w<sup>A</sup> g 8 զոր + 3<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> T

my life and my body-guards during night and day, and front-row fighters during war.<sup>73</sup>

11. Now it is time for me to come to visions and revelations. The Lord showed to me that after many years Armenian princes will expel the house of Trdat and themselves will be expelled from their homelands and fall under the yoke of slavery of the infidels for many years.<sup>74</sup> Woe to those who will happen to [live] in those times since the nation of the Armenians will suffer with agony until they expire. Their salvation will come from the Lord and assistance from my descendants.<sup>75</sup> But this will happen in the Last Days when the relics of the Holy Goats Suk'iaseank', which I buried in the province of Bagrevand according to the guidance of the Lord's angel, would be discovered.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> The tradition about the 'warriors of Trdat' whom he left in Rome is found in the almost-contemporary apocalyptic source the *Prophecies of Agaton*. Cfr mss V222, fol. 268<sup>v</sup>, M1382, fol. 307<sup>f</sup>. In other mss of PA (from a different recension) the *armenk'* became *alamank'*, e.g. mss M9171 fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, M5066 fol. 132<sup>r</sup>; M515 fol. 42<sup>f</sup>. According to PA the last Roman Emperor—a 'new Constantine'—will be an offspring of these warriors. That the author of TD wished to allude to apocalyptic events already here, by mentioning Trdat's warriors, is evidenced by the fact that in the next sentence Constantine pronounces a prophecy about the end of the Armenian Kingdom and its future restoration. One difference must be noted, however. In PA the number of warriors is either not specified, e.g. M1382, M527 and M4669, or is 'two hundred' as in M3839, M9159, M9171, M5066 and M2270.

<sup>74</sup> The beginning of Constantine's prophecy echoes those ascribed to St. Sahak (*Vision of Sahak*, 18) and of St. Nersēs (LN 1853). The latter prophecy is found in numerous recensions and is cited by other Armenian historians. Both texts discuss the fall of the Aršakunis and their eventual re-establishment on the Armenian throne at the End of Times. This was one of the most dominant themes in apocalyptic prophecies composed or re-edited during the Cilician period, two of which were already mentioned above, i.e. *Sermo de Antichristo* and the *Prophecies of Agaton*. TD's audience could easily understand such apocalyptic allusions.

<sup>75</sup> The idea that the salvation of the Armenians will come from the 'West' slowly solidified in the twelfth century, in the Cilician milieu and is elaborated upon in SA, PA and other texts. For further discussion, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 48–50 and 90–91.

<sup>76</sup> Cfr *Martyrdom of Suk'iaseank'* 1813, 110–120. The relics of the Suk'iaseank' saints are also mentioned in the PA. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 88–90 for further discussion.



12. Երևեցան և յերկրի մերում հրաշք զարմանալիք ի հայրապետես հայոց, ևս և ի թագաւորես, քանզի ի գալն սոցա առ մեզ և յանցանելն ընդ ծովս Յունական, առաքեցի ես և ժողովեցի զամենայն խեղս, զկաղս և 336՝ զկոյրս, զմիակողմանիս և զանդամալոյծս, և զայլս ամենայն, որք նե[ղ]եալ էին ի պէս-պէս ցաւս և ի տանջանս: Եւ զայսպիսիսս ժողովեալ՝ հանի 5 զնոսա զամենեսեան ընդդէմ սրբոյն Գրիգորի, զորս մի անգամ աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսեան մինչև զարմանալ մեր ամենեցուն ի վերայ ամենայնի, զոր արար տէր նովաւ: Եւ փառաւորեցաք զՔրիստոս՝ զփառաւորիչն սրբոց իւրոց:

13. Դարձեալ՝ էր վիշապ մի մեծ զսասակար ի Կապետովին, զոր խորտակեաց նշանաւ խաչին Քրիստոսի սուրբս Սեղբեստրոս և արգել զնա յորջ իւր: Յետ

12.1 Երևեցան] f. 1 C 1 և] om  $A_8B_8C$  1 յերկրի] +  $\text{h}_{\text{ant}} CD_8FF_3F_5N_2T$  i. om E 1 հրաշք] հրեշտակք  $F_3$  f. om I 1 հայրապետես] հայսապետս C հայրապետս E 1 հայոց] + լուսաւորչէս  $D_8$  2 ևս] om B 2 և] om E 2 թագաւորես] + Տրդատայ  $D_8$  թագաւորութենէս  $F_5$  2 գալն] f. om  $A_8CFI$  om  $\text{h}_{\text{ant}} B$  2 սոցա] i. ն  $B_8$  2 յանցանելն] յանցանիւն  $AA_1CFF_5T$  i. om E անցելն  $S_1$  3 ծովս] f. ն  $A_1B_8FF_3$  3 Յունական] + մարբսինտես  $F_3$  i. om  $\gamma$  3 խեղս] i. + q b 3-4 զկաղս և զկոյրս] զկոյրս և զկաղս  $A_1$  + և  $A_1CN_9\gamma$  3 և] om  $A_8B_8CF_3$  4 զմիակողմանիս] f. + u  $gKM_2m$  4 որք] f. om  $AB_8CT$  4 նե[ղ]եալ] f. + p  $F_3F_5$  նեխեալ  $N_2$  5 էին] է B 5 պէս- պէս] պէս K 5 տանջանս] f. + ն  $FF_3$  5 զայսպիսիսս] f. + om  $ACFF_5gKT$  զամենայն B զայսպիսիքս  $F_3$  զայսպիսի  $M_2my$  5 ժողովեալ] f. + pu  $\gamma$  5 հանի] f. + ն C 5-6 հանի զնոսա] զնոսա հանի  $F_3$  [...]  $N_9$  6 զնոսա] om  $BF_5\gamma$  6 զամենեսեան] om  $By$  i. j T 6 սրբոյն] f. om B [...]  $N_9$  6 Գրիգորի] լուսաւորչին B + լուսաւորչին  $bS_1$  [...]  $N_9$  6 զորս] f. om  $AB_8CF_3F_5K$  6 անգամ] անկամ  $ACI$  միագամ B 6-7 աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսեան] բժշկեաց աղաւթիւք ջուրս ցանելով B սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսեան աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց ջուրս ցանելով b զամենեսեան աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր  $g_8K_8M_2$  բժշկեցաւ զամենեսեան աղաւթիւք սուրբն Գրիգորի m աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց զամենեսեան սուրբն Գրիգոր  $N_9$  սուրբն Գրիգոր զամենեսեան աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց ջուրս ցանելով  $S_1$  աղաւթիւք բժշկեաց զամենեսեան T բժշկեաց զնոսա զամենեսեան սուրբն Գրիգոր աղաւթիւք  $\gamma$  7 սուրբն] f. om A 7 զամենեսեան] om  $F_5$  7 զարմանալ] զարմանեալ B f. + u C 7 մեր] f. q T 7 ամենեցուն] f. + g  $F_5$  8 ամենայնի] ամենանի B 8 արար] եցոյց  $F_5$  8 տէր] f. + ն Bb 9 զփառաւորիչն] i. om  $F_3$  9 սրբոց] որոց I 13.1 Դարձեալ] + և  $\gamma$  1 էր] om  $S_1$  1 մի] + ահազին C 1 զսասակար] om  $A_8$  1 Կապետովին] կապետովին  $CN_9T$  կապետովին  $F_5$  կապետովին  $gK_8M_2$  կապետովին I կապետովին m 1 խորտակեաց] խորխտակեաց  $M_2m$  2 նշանաւ] + սուրբ  $S_1$  2 Քրիստոսի] om Y 2 սուրբս] f. ն  $A_8EF_3F_5Ty$  2 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոս M սեղբեստրոս  $S_1$  2 արգել] արգելեաց M i. + j  $S_1$  2 յորջ] +  $\text{h}_{\text{ant}} A_1N_2N_9$

7 + բժշկեցան with a different hand m<sup>l</sup> m

12. Moreover, many marvellous miracles appeared in our country by the Armenian Patriarch as well as by the King since when they crossed the Grecian Sea and arrived here I sent for and gathered all the deaf, the lame and the blind, those disabled on one side and the handicapped, as well as all those who suffered from various illnesses and afflictions. And having assembled all of them I took them to St. Gregory who cured all of them with a single prayer<sup>77</sup> until we were all amazed at everything that the Lord accomplished through him. And we gave glory to Christ who glorifies His saints.

13. Then, there was a big and harmful dragon on the Capitoline Hill which St. Sylvester had destroyed by the sign of the cross of Christ and locked him up in his den.<sup>78</sup> After that, another huge

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<sup>77</sup> The curing of the sick is part and parcel of the hagiographic genre. But beyond following a common topos, the author of TD may have been inspired by a similar description in Aa §774. However, in Aa the healing takes place on the Armenian soil, not in Rome. The author of TD raises Gregory's importance in affirming that the saint performed these miracles in Rome to the awe and wonder of all.

<sup>78</sup> This information comes from the *Life of Sylvester*, possibly relying both on its Armenian and Greek versions. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 76–79 for further discussion of the issue, as well as the symbolic significance of fighting a dragon and a unicorn, all intended to boost Trdat's legendary standing.

այսորիկ երևեցաւ այլ վիշապ մի մեծ և ահագին ի սահմանս մեր և բազում  
 փասս առնէր մարդոյ և անասնոյ: Եւ էր ի նոյն սահմանսն միեղջերու մի  
 մեծ և ահագին. նոյնպէս և նա փասս առնէր մերձակայ սահմանացն: Եւ 5  
 մարտնչէին ընդ միմեանս հանապազ միեղջերուն և վիշապն, և ոչ ոք իշխէր  
 անցանել առ նոքաւք: Զոր լուեալ սիրելոյն իմ ի մանկութենէ Տրդատայ՝  
 զինեալ զինքն և ամրացուցեալ նշանաւ խաչին Քրիստոսի և աղաթիւք  
 սուրբ Լուսաւորչիս, և ըստ յաջողելոյն Աստուծոյ, էհար և սպան զվիշապն  
 և զմիեղջերուն. և կտրեալ զհասարակ եղջեր միեղջերուին՝ պարգևեաց ինձ 10  
 թիւրակէս և անդեղայս թունահալածս: Իսկ ես զհասարակ խաչամասինն  
 Քրիստոսի, զոր մայրն իմ բերեալ էր ինձ նշան յԵրուսաղէմէ, հատեալ զայն

3 ի] om A<sub>1</sub> 4 փասս] f. + u AS<sub>1</sub> 4 առնէր] գործէր A առնէր C 4 մարդոյ և անասնոյ]  
 ի մարդ և յանասուն γ 4 ի] om C 4 սահմանսն] սահմանն bEgK<sub>6</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub>  
 f. om F<sub>5</sub> 4 միեղջերու] միեղջու B մի եղջիր E միեղջիրու IK միեղջիրի S<sub>1</sub>  
 եղջերու T 4 մի] om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 5 փասս] f. + u S<sub>1</sub> 5 մերձակայ] մերձակայիցն  
 B մերձակայս + և սահմանակից էին միմեանց վիշապն և մի եղջերուն F<sub>3</sub> +  
 զաւատացն և γ 5 սահմանացն] om BF<sub>3</sub> 5 Եւ] om B<sub>2</sub>CF<sub>3</sub> 6 մարտնչէին]  
 + հանապազ γ 6 միմեանս] f. և I [...] N<sub>9</sub> 6 հանապազ] omt և ոչ ոք F<sub>3</sub>  
 om γ 6 միեղջերուն] միեղջերին A<sub>6</sub> միեղջերոյն F միեղջերուն I միեղջերուն γ  
 6 վիշապն] վիշ[...] իշխէր N<sub>9</sub> 7 առ] om K 7 սիրելոյն] սիրոյն AF<sub>5</sub> սիրելին B<sub>6</sub>T  
 սիրելուն C սիրելիւ γ 7 իմ] իմոյ A<sub>6</sub>F<sub>5</sub> om γ 7 ի մանկութենէ] մանկութենէ  
 om ի<sub>ant</sub> gM<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> om F<sub>5</sub> 7 ի մանկութենէ Տրդատայ] տրդատ ի մանկութենէ  
 bS<sub>1</sub> 7 Տրդատայ] om B տրդատ Ely 8 զինեալ] զինել γ 8 զինքն] + խաչին  
 քրիստոսի C 8 աղաթիւք] աղոթաւք A<sub>1</sub> աղաթաւք CN<sub>2</sub> 9 Լուսաւորչիս] f. և  
 BCEIF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 9 ըստ] ընդ AS<sub>1</sub> 9 յաջողելոյն] i. om AA<sub>6</sub>B<sub>6</sub> աջողելոցն E 9 էհար]  
 էհար A<sub>1</sub>CFIN<sub>9</sub>T 9 ի] om F 9 սպան] i. + է A<sub>6</sub> i. + է F 9 զվիշապն]  
 i. om F<sub>3</sub> 9–10 զվիշապն և զմիեղջերուն] զմիեղջերին և զվիշապն g<sub>6</sub>K<sub>6</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m  
 10 զմիեղջերուն] + և առեալ զգլուխս նոցայ բերէր և ելեալ ընդ առաջ նորայ  
 մեք [մենք B] ամենեքեան և [om և B] զարմացաք զի իս. եզն բերեալ լծեցաք և  
 ուծգին հազիւ մուծաք ի Հոռոմ քաղաքի D<sub>6</sub> եղջերոյն F զմիեղջերին F<sub>3</sub> զմիեղջերին  
 γ 10 կտրեալ] կտրել C 10 զհասարակ] զհասակ B<sub>6</sub>C 10 եղջեր] եղջեր A<sub>1</sub> f.  
 + և BFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> եղջերն C + մի S<sub>1</sub> om γ 10 միեղջերուին] եղջիրուին A եղջերուին  
 A<sub>1</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>γ միեղջիրին B om F<sub>5</sub> մի եղջերին g<sub>6</sub>K<sub>6</sub>M<sub>2</sub> մի եղջիրին m միեղջերուն N<sub>9</sub>  
 10 ինձ] omt թիւնայիալածս B ինն E 11 թիւրակէս] f. + u A<sub>6</sub> f. q N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>γ թրակէս T  
 11 անդեղայս] անդ եղն այս FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> անգեղէ այս gM<sub>2</sub> անգեղէայս Km անգեղայս S<sub>1</sub>  
 11 թունահալածս] թիւնահալածս AA<sub>6</sub>B<sub>6</sub>F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 11 զհասարակ] om B զհասարկ  
 M<sub>2</sub> 11 խաչամասինն] զխաչամասն D<sub>6</sub> խաչափայտի մասն F<sub>5</sub> խաչ մասինն  
 g<sub>6</sub>K<sub>6</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 12 մայրն] f. om F<sub>5</sub> 12 էր] omt յերուսաղէմէ A<sub>6</sub> 12 յԵրուսաղէմէ]  
 f. այ D<sub>6</sub> 12 հատեալ] om B + ի խաչափայտէն Քրիստոսի, զոր Տեառն եղբայրն  
 շնորհեաց [շնորհեալ էր S<sub>1</sub>] մարն իմոյ bS<sub>1</sub>

3 + այլ [վիշապ] L<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub> 3–4 Եւ էր ի նոյն սահմանս մեր և բազում փասս առնէր  
 մարդոյ և անասնոյ ditt and ras C 4 միեղու + 4<sup>0</sup> ջ w<sup>A</sup> B 10 եղջիրին + 6<sup>0</sup> ու w<sup>A</sup> A;  
 եղջերուն + 7<sup>0</sup> ի w<sup>A</sup> T

dragon appeared within our borders and caused much harm to people and animals. And within the same borders there was a huge unicorn which also caused damage at the nearby confines. And the dragon and the unicorn were constantly fighting with each other and no one dared to pass by them. Having heard this, my beloved since young age, Trdat, put on his arms and fortified himself with the sign of the cross of Christ as well as with the prayers of the Holy Illuminator, and by divine operation struck and killed the dragon and the unicorn. [Then] he cut and donated half of the horn of the unicorn to me as an anti-poison and antidote against venom.<sup>79</sup> And I cut half of the relic of the [True] Cross of Christ which my mother had brought to me as a sign from Jerusalem and gave it

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<sup>79</sup> Some versions of the Greek *Physiologus* mention the anti-poisonous characteristics of the unicorn's horn. Cfr Chapter 2, pp. 78–79 for further discussion. This exchange of gifts is quite curious and even scandalous if one considers that Constantine exchanges the unicorn's horn with such an invaluable relic as a piece of the True Cross, which according to one tradition (found, *inter alia*, in MX 1913, 88) was discovered by his mother Helen in Jerusalem. One wonders what the reaction of TD's contemporaries may have been when reading these lines. One thing is sure. The author attempts to provide 'proof' that Armenians had more than one piece of the True Cross, one of which was given to them by no one less than the first Christian Emperor.

336<sup>v</sup> ետու Տրդատայ՝ դեղաթափ և | կենաց պատճառ յաւիտենական, յազգաց յազգս ի փառս Աստուծոյ:

14. Պատմեաց մեզ փառաւոր ֆրերս մեր Տրդատիոս վասն ամենայն անցիցն անցելոց. եթէ որքան ընդ տանջանաւք էարկ գտորք[ն] Գրիգոր յաղագս ի Քրիստոս հաւատոցն բովանդակ զերկուս ամս չորեք տասան չարչարանաւք, անողորմ և անխնայ հարկանելով զնա: Եւ կամ թէ որպէս զերեքտասան ամ էարկ զնա կերակուր աւձից ի խոր վիրապին, որ ի 5 դղեկին Արտաշատու: Եւ կամ թէ որպէս պատերազմեցաւ պոռնկական պակշտութեամբ ընդ դստեր քուեր մաւր իմոյ՝ ընդ համասնունդն իմ Հռիփսիմէ ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի, ևս և զպարտութիւն, որ յաղթեցաւ ի կուսէն զարուրեամբն Քրիստոսի: Կամ թէ որպէս զանազան տանջանաւք սպան զնա և զընկերս նորա, զսնեալքն սրբութեամբ ի սուրբս սանթէս: 10

13 ն] om A 13 յազգաց] i. om A<sub>1</sub>BbEFF<sub>5</sub>gKM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>Ty 14 յազգս] i. om E  
14 փառս] + Քրիստոսի FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 14 Աստուծոյ] f. + ն + մերոյ F<sub>5</sub> 14.1 Պատմեաց]  
+ l<sub>ant</sub> F<sub>5</sub> 1 մեզ] + և FF<sub>3</sub> 1 ֆրերս] ֆրերս CgmS<sub>1</sub> փրերս T 1 մեր] om F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>T  
1 ամենայն] om F<sub>3</sub> f. + ի K<sub>g</sub> 2 անցիցն] f. om A<sub>g</sub>BC 2 անցելոց] f. + ն B անցանելոց  
C 2 եթէ] i. om ABbCEFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>IS<sub>1</sub>y 2 որքան] որչափ A<sub>g</sub> 2 ընդ] om CFF<sub>3</sub>S<sub>1</sub>  
2 գտորք[ն]] f. om N<sub>2</sub> 3 յաղագս] յաղաքս E յաղակս M<sub>2</sub> 3 ի Քրիստոս] om  
l<sub>ant</sub> f. + ի T 3 բովանդակ] f. + u A om CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 3 զերկուս] f. om BCFF<sub>3</sub> om y  
3 ամս] f. om A<sub>g</sub> i. + q y 3 չորեք տասան] om A<sub>g</sub> 3 տասան] omt էարկ y տա[...]  
N<sub>9</sub> 4 անողորմ] f. + ն BN<sub>2</sub> 4 անխնայ] i. + j BbCFgIKM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>9</sub>y 5 աւձից] f. + ն  
AA<sub>g</sub>I + թիւնաւորաց F<sub>5</sub> 5 վիրապին] om որ C վիշապն omt և կամ F<sub>5</sub> 6 դղեկին]  
դեղեկին F<sub>3</sub> դղեակն y 6 կամ] om A<sub>g2</sub> 6 պատերազմեցաւ] պատերազմաւ  
F<sub>5</sub> 7 պակշտութեամբ] պազշտութեամբ K պաքշտութեամբ S<sub>1</sub> 7 ընդ] om  
y 7 քուեր] քւեր CEFgM<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub> om F<sub>3</sub>y քվեր F<sub>5</sub>KT 7 մաւր] f. + ն S<sub>1</sub> 7 իմոյ] մերոյ  
ACFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 7 ընդ] և F<sub>5</sub> 7 համասնունդն] f. om EF<sub>3</sub>MT 8 Հռիփսիմէ] հռեփսիմէ b  
հռեփսիմէ E 8 ևս ն] և ևս D<sub>g</sub>Iy om ևս ET 8 զպարտութիւն] ըստ պարտութիւն  
E զյաղթութիւն նորա y 8 որ] ոյ C 8 յաղթեցաւ] f. + ն BbEI 9 Քրիստոսի] + և  
BbEFly 9 Կամ] om S<sub>1</sub> 9 զանազան] om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 10 սպան] եսպան FK էսպան I  
10 զընկերս] f. + ն B զընգերս M<sub>2</sub> զնկերս T 10 զսնեալքն] զսնեալսն F սնեալն F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>  
10 սուրբս] f. և y 10 սանթէս] սանթենէս AB<sub>g</sub>CT սանթանէզ A<sub>1</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> սանթէս g  
սանթէս M<sub>2</sub>m

1 + ամենայն L<sup>A</sup> A<sub>1</sub> 2 + ընդ L<sup>A</sup> N<sub>2</sub>

to Trdat as an anti-poison and source of life in all eternity, from nations to nations, for the glory of God.

14. [Then] our glorious *frère*<sup>80</sup> Trdatios told us about all that had come to pass:<sup>81</sup> how much he caused the Holy Gregory sufferings because of his faith in Christ, cruelly and pitilessly tormenting him for two full years<sup>82</sup> with fourteen tortures. And how he threw him for thirteen years in a deep pit as food for snakes, near the castle of Artašat;<sup>83</sup> how he fought with licentious desire against the daughter of my mother's sister, my co-nurtured [sister] Hrip'simē<sup>84</sup> in the city of Valaršapat, and how he was defeated by the virgin with the power of Christ; or how he killed with manifold tortures her and her companions, nourished in sanctity by the holy Saint;<sup>85</sup> and

<sup>80</sup> The Armenian version uses the Old French loan word which I maintained in the translation. The sources of this section are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, pp. 79–82. Unless otherwise indicated, most of the information in this and the following sections is a standard, synthesised version of Aa (or sources dependent upon it) about the conversion of Trdat and his Kingdom. Some details, however, are different.

<sup>81</sup> Both Aa §875–876 and Vg §183–189 have a similar layout. When Constantine and Trdat meet, each tells the story of his conversion in a succinct form. Other sources dependent on Aa provide the same information with some variations, e.g. Uxtanēs 1876, 106, tells that each King told about his conversion in front of a crowd.

<sup>82</sup> Neither Aa nor Vg give the length of time that Gregory's tortures lasted. Moreover, he is said to have gone through twelve tortures, while in TD we read fourteen. This could be due to the confusion between the letters *p* and *q* indicating two and four respectively. However, many manuscripts do not abbreviate the number and clearly spell it out as 'fourteen'. Moreover, besides two sister mss (mss F<sub>5</sub>L), which could have made a deliberate correction to twelve (from *q* to *p*), no other mss, even those belonging to the Agat'angelos group, give the number as twelve.

<sup>83</sup> Aa §122 (where also the location of the pit near the castle of the city of Artašat is given), 124, 132 say the incarceration in the pit lasted for thirteen years, while in Vg §54, 136 and 183 the length of St. Gregory's incarceration in the pit is said to be fifteen years.

<sup>84</sup> Aa §181 on the fight between Trdat and Hrip'simē. On the lineage, which makes Hrip'simē a relative of Emperor Constantine, cfr, for example, MX 1865, 323, which says that the 'horn of salvation', 'the Holy and victorious Emperor Constantine' came from Hrip'simē's dynasty. On this fictitious relationship see also Thomson 1997, 284. For further discussion, cfr Chapter 2, p. 80.

<sup>85</sup> The Armenian text uses an Old French loan word 'saint' (spelled as 'sant'), instead of the usual Armenian *surb*. This may be a reference to St. Gayanē, the abbess of the monastery in Rome whence the virgins fled. I have assumed that 'santēs' is employed in ablative singular (as the case ending suggests) and have translated the phrase accordingly.

Եւ թէ որպէս յետ եաթն աւուր սպանմանն Հոփսիմ[ե]ւ[յ], Էհաս ի վերայ բարկութիւն յԱստուծոյ և այսահարեալ փոխեցաւ ի կերպարանս վայրենի վարագի: Եւ (թէ) որպէս տեսեամբն Խոսրովիդիստոյ հանաւ սուրբն Գրիգոր ի վիրապեն՝ ի ձեռն Աւտայի նախարարի և հաւատարմի արքայի: Եւ թէ որպէս սուրբ Լուսաւորիչն աղաթիւք էած ի զգայութիւն 15 մարդկան զՏրդատ, և յերկրորդում աւուրն ամփոփեաց զսուրբն Հոփսիմ, և զԳայիանէ, և զԵրեսուն և հինգ ընկերս նոցա: Եւ յետ վեց աւուրն բժշկեաց զամենայն հայաստանեայս: Եւ յետ վաթսուն աւուրն ետես աշաւք բացաւք սուրբն Գրիգորիոս զիջումս միաձնին ի չափար պաղատանն

11 Եւ] + կամ  $CD_g I_y$  11 թէ] om  $bT$  11 յետ] om  $\gamma$  11 եաթն]  $F_5$   
 11 սպանմանն]  $f.$  om  $E$  11 Հոփսիմ[ե]ւ[յ] հոփսիմէ  $B$  հոեփսիմէ  $bI$   
 հոեփսիմեայ  $CN_9$  հոեփսիմէ  $E$  հոեփսիմեայ  $F_3$  հոփսիմեանց  $F_5$  հոփսիմա  $N_2$   
 հոփսիմէ  $S_{1y}$  11 Էհաս] Էհաս  $CF_3 IS_1$  11-12 ի վերայ] + նորա  $AA_g B_{g2}$  om  $CFF_3 F_5$   
 12 բարկութիւն]  $f.$  + ն  $N_9$  12 յԱստուծոյ]  $i.$  om  $ACFF_3 IKMm$  + ի վերայ  $CFF_3 F_5$   
 12 այսահարեալ] ասահարեալ  $B$  13 վայրենի] om  $AIF_5$  13 թէ] om  $A_1 N_2 N_9$   
 13 տեսեամբն]  $f.$  om  $\gamma$  13 Խոսրովիդիստոյ] խոսրովիթիստոյ  $C$  խոսրովիդիստի  
 $EI$  խոսրովիդիթի  $\gamma$  14 սուրբն]  $f.$  om  $C$  14 Գրիգոր]  $f.$  + ն  $F_3$  + ի վեր  $N_2$  [...]  $N_9$   
 14 ի վիրապեն] om  $B_{g2}$  [...]  $N_9$  14 Աւտայի] նստարի  $A$  օտայի  $E$  օտայ  $gK_g M_2 m$   
 աւտարի  $I$  [...] ամփոփեաց  $N_9$  օղայի  $\gamma$  14-15 նախարարի և հաւատարմի  
 արքայի] հաւատարմի նախարարի արքայի  $F_5$  14 հաւատարմի] հաւատարմի  
 $AA_1 B_g CFF_3 g$  15 սուրբ] om  $A_{g2} E_y f.$  + ն  $BbF_5$  15 սուրբ Լուսաւորիչն] լուսաւորիչն  
 սուրբն գրիգորիոս  $C$  15 Լուսաւորիչն]  $f.$  om  $b$  գրիգոր  $F_5$  15 աղաթիւք] աղաթաւք  $A_1$   
 15 աղաթիւք էած] աղօթեած  $F_3$  15 զգայութիւն] սգաստութիւն  
 $BM_2 my$  զգաստութիւն  $bEIK_g S_1$  սգայութիւն  $Cg$  16 զՏրդատ] omt 14.18 և յետ զվ.  
 աւուրն  $A_g$  16 յերկրորդում]  $f.$  + ն  $B$  յերկրորդում  $b i.$  om  $ES_1 i. q F_5$  16 աւուրն]  
 omt բժշկեաց  $E$  16 ամփոփեաց] անփոփեաց  $A_1 BbF_3 F_5 I$  + զմարմին սրբոց  
 հոփսիմեանց omt և հետ վեց աւուրն  $F_5$  16 Հոփսիմէ] հոեփսիմէ  $bI$  [...]  $N_9$   
 17 զԵրեսուն և հինգ]  $q$  լէ.  $F q_L$  և է.  $F_3$  17 ընկերս] ընգերս  $B$  17 նոցա] [...]  $N_9$   
 17 յետ վեց] յերրորդումս  $B$  յերրորդում  $bEI$  երրորդում  $S_{1y}$  17 աւուրն]  $f.$   
 om  $F_3 F_5$  18 զամենայն] զազգն  $F_5$  18 հայաստանեայս] հայաստանայս  $A_1 F_y$   
 $f.$  + ն  $b$  հայաստան  $C$  հայաստանեաց  $E$  հայաստանս  $F_3$  հայաստանեայց  $F_5$   
 18 վաթսուն] կգ.  $A_g$  18 աւուրն]  $f.$  om  $A_g \gamma$  + վարդապետութեան  $A_g$  18 ետես]  
 էտես  $C$  19 բացաւք] իւրովք  $B_g$  omt զիջումս  $F_5$  19 Գրիգորիոս] գրիգոր  $BbEly$   
 19 միաձնին] omt և զսինսն  $B_{g2} f.$  om  $F_3 \gamma$  բանին աստուծոյ  $F_5$  19 չափար] չափայր  
 $FF_3$  om  $F_5$  19 պաղատանն] պաղատն  $A$  պաղատն  $F_3 g_g KM_2 my$  ի չափապաղատն  
 $F_5$

12 + ն{ո}ր{ա} [բարկութիւն]  $L^A A$  15 աղաւթ +  $5^0$  իւք  $w^B B$  16 յերրորդումս corr  
 յերրորդումս  $3^0$   $p$  ras  $B$  18 հայաստանեայ +  $11^0$   $g w^B F_5$  19 պաղատնն +  $5^0$   $w w^A$   
 $N_2$

how seven days<sup>86</sup> after the execution of Hrip'simē the fury of God befell upon him and he was possessed by demons and took the appearance of a wild boar. [He told us] how thanks to the vision of Xosroviduxt<sup>87</sup> St. Gregory, taken out of the pit by the loyal *naxarar* Awtay, led Trdat to human sense by prayers. [Then] on the second day<sup>88</sup> he buried St. Hrip'simē and Gayanē and their thirty-five<sup>89</sup> companions. After six days<sup>90</sup> he cured all Armenians and after sixty days St. Gregory saw with open eyes the descent of the Only Begotten on the fence of the royal palace,<sup>91</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Aa § 211 says that Trdat spent six days in deep sadness, then decided to go on a hunt, thus his transformation into a boar would take place on the seventh day after the holy women's death.

<sup>87</sup> Aa § 215–216 and Aa § 217–220 on the visions of Xosroviduxt and the liberation of Gregory from the pit by Awtay.

<sup>88</sup> From the context the 'second' day should be counted after Gregory came out of the pit. Aa § 223–224 does not specify the day, but says 'afterwards' Gregory asked about the bodies of the Holy Women and 'wrapped them' in their torn clothes. Their burial happens somewhat later.

<sup>89</sup> Aa § 209 numbers them thirty seven, including Hrip'simē and Gayanē.

<sup>90</sup> Aa § 722 and § 726 says that the 'curing' of the people and the partial curing of Trdat happened on the sixty-sixth day, as Gregory's Teaching lasted for sixty-five days. However, the author of TD knows about the tradition (at least since the 10th century) that all Armenians fasted for six days (and this would be said to have been the first *Araġaworac* fast as discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 36–39) and then were cured by St. Gregory. TD gives the correct 'date' for the vision of Gregory, since it happens six + sixty = sixty-six days after he came out of the pit. It happened in the middle of the night preceding the 'curing' of the people (as in Aa § 732); thus on the sixty-sixth night after Gregory's liberation from the pit.

<sup>91</sup> The location of the descent in Aa § 736 is the 'royal palace' without specifying the wall/fence.



արքունի, և զսիւսն զչորեսին, և զխորանն երկնանման, զձև և զյարփնուած 20  
 գումբէթաշէն կաթողիկէին, և զայլ խորհրդական տեսիլսն, զոր ծանոյց նմա  
 հրեշտակն տեսաւ: Նաև զդառնալն իւր ի մարդկային կերպարանսն յետ  
 ե[ա]ւթանասուն ատուրն, զի յառաջ քան զայս, ոտքն և ձեռքն փոխեալ էին  
 վասն սպասահարկութեան [սատարաց] սրբոցն:

15. Պատմեաց և վասն մեհենաց քակման յերկրին հայոց և խոր-  
 տակման բազնացն համաջինջ, և թէ ո՞րպէս դէքն մարմնաւոր տես-  
 լեամբ հակառակ կային, պատերազմ յարուցանէին պաշտաւնեալքն իւ-  
 րեանց՝ որպէս ի Տարաւն ի տեղին Գիսանեայ, զորս զամենեսեան  
 հալածեաց հայրս հանուրց Գրիգորիոս, յաշխարհն Մարաց, որ է ի 5

20 զսիւսն] f. om By զսիւսն EF<sub>5</sub>K<sub>8</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m զսիւս T 20 զչորեսին] i. om A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>  
 20 զյարփնուած] զարփնուած A<sub>1</sub>BbIy զորինակ E զորինած F<sub>3</sub> զորինուածս F<sub>5</sub>  
 զշինուած S<sub>1</sub> 21 գումբէթաշէն] գումպէթաշէն A<sub>1</sub>EI գումբէթաշէն C գմբէթաշէն  
 FF<sub>3</sub>S<sub>1</sub>T գմբէթաշէն F<sub>5</sub>g կմբէթաշէն KM<sub>2</sub>m գմպէթաշէն γ 21 կաթողիկէին]  
 կաթողիկէին CF<sub>5</sub>gT 21 խորհրդական] խորհրդան A խորհուրդական C  
 21 տեսիլսն] տեսիլն B տեսիլն F<sub>3</sub> 21 ծանոյց] հասկացոյց B<sub>8</sub> ծ[...]  
 N<sub>9</sub> 22 հրեշտակն] f. om AA<sub>1</sub>F<sub>5</sub>KT 22 տեսաւ] + և թէ որպէս ամփոփեաց զս[ն  
 gm] Հոփսիսմէ և զԳայիսնէ և զլէ ընկերս նոցա և ապա բժշկեաց զամենայն  
 հայաստանեացս [հայաստանայս gM<sub>2</sub>] A<sub>8</sub> om F<sub>5</sub> [...] N<sub>9</sub> 22 զդառնալն]  
 զդառալն I 22 կերպարանսն] f. om AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>T կերպարան F<sub>5</sub> [...] N<sub>9</sub> 22 յետ] +  
 h<sub>ant</sub> B 23 ե[ա]ւթանասուն] կ. B<sub>8</sub>C կթանասուն N<sub>2</sub> 23 ատուրն] f. om A<sub>8</sub>γ 23 ոտքն]  
 f. om A i. + q b 23 ոտքն և ձեռքն] ձեռքն և ոտքն CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 23 ձեռքն] i. + q b + միայն  
 g<sub>8</sub>K<sub>8</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 23-24 փոխեալ էին վասն սպասահարկութեան [սատարաց] սրբոցն]  
 միայն բժշկեաց սուրբն Գրիգոր վասն զի զդիսն Հոփսիսմէանցն փորելոյ D<sub>8</sub>  
 24 սպասահարկութեան] սպաստ հարկութեան EI սպասայարկութեան F<sub>5</sub> [...] N<sub>9</sub>  
 om γ 24 սատարաց] սպասաւորաց Ey սարտաւաց FF<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> շիրիմացն  
 F<sub>5</sub> սպասաւորացն I 24 սրբոցն] f. om EFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>γ 15.1 Պատմեաց] + մեզ  
 AT 1 մեհենաց] մեհենեաց A<sub>1</sub>CT մեհենեացն bF<sub>3</sub>S<sub>1</sub> մեհեաց F<sub>5</sub> f. + ն g մեհենիցն  
 K<sub>8</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 1 մեհենաց քակման] քակման մեհենացն BEIy 1 յերկրին] յերկիրն  
 C 2 բազնացն] բազնեացն AD<sub>8</sub>F<sub>5</sub>T բազնեացն F<sub>3</sub> 2 համաջինջ] բնաջինջ  
 A<sub>8</sub> 2 թէ] om B 2 դէքն] դէն F<sub>3</sub> 3 հակառակ կային] հակառակէին + և A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>  
 3 պատերազմ] f. + ն gM<sub>2</sub>m 3 պաշտաւնեալքն] պաշտօնէիւք A<sub>8</sub> պաշտաւնէիւքն  
 B<sub>8</sub>2 պաշտաւնեայքն CFF<sub>3</sub> պաշտօնէիւքն F<sub>5</sub> պաշտոնայքն T պաշտօնայօքն γ  
 4 որպէս] om AA<sub>8</sub>T որ B 4 տեղին] տեղիսն F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 4 Գիսանեայ] զիսանայ A<sub>1</sub>BbEIS<sub>1</sub>  
 իզանեայ F<sub>3</sub> զիսնեայ K կիսանայ T զիսիսնէ γ 4 զամենեսեան] f. + ն AA<sub>1</sub>TN<sub>9</sub>  
 5 հալածեաց] om F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T 5 հայրս հանուրց] ի հայոց BbEIS<sub>1</sub> + սուրբն B<sub>8</sub>F<sub>5</sub> հայոց  
 հանուրց F<sub>5</sub> om γ 5 յաշխարհն] + h<sub>ant</sub> D<sub>8</sub> 5 Մարաց] մայրց F<sub>3</sub> omt 16.9 զիս  
 երնջիս A<sub>1</sub> 5 ի] om B

20 զսիւսն + 1<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub> 24 զդիսն + 3<sup>0</sup> p with a different hand w<sup>A</sup> B 15.2 համայջիջ  
 + 7<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub>

and all four columns and the heaven-like altar, and the shape and form of the domed cathedral church, and other mysterious visions that the angel of the Lord revealed to him. And how after seventy days<sup>92</sup> he [Trdat] regained human shape, since before then [only] his feet and hands were transformed in order to [be able to perform] the service for the auxiliaries<sup>93</sup> of saints.<sup>94</sup>

15. He also told us about the demolishing of temples in the land of Armenia as well as the utter destruction of pagan altars and how anthropomorphic demons opposed [them] and fought along with their priests as in Tarawn, in the location of Gisanē.<sup>95</sup> Our father Gregory pursued all of them until the country of Media which is to the South of the Caspian

<sup>92</sup> All B family mss and C give sixty days here. Aa does not specify how many days after his transformation into a wild boar Trdat comes back to human shape. However, if one puts the numbers together, it should be more than seventy days, since after sixty-six days of Gregory's teaching, everyone was busy building the *martyria* of the Holy Virgins. Moreover, (Aa §767) Trdat goes on a seven-day journey to 'Azat Masis' in order to bring huge stones for the construction. Thus, the author of TD rounded up the number to be seventy, instead of, for example, seventy three.

<sup>93</sup> For problems related to the Armenian variants of this lemma cfr Chapter 3, pp. 316. The service in question is the burial of the Saints.

<sup>94</sup> Aa §765 on the curing of Trdat's hand and feet first, for the construction of the Virgins' *martyria*. This detail is missing in Vg.

<sup>95</sup> Demons who look like a real army (a cavalry) and who resist the destruction of the temples are mentioned in Aa §774. The location of Gisanē in the region of Tarawn, however, is based on the account of Yovhan Mamikonean, cfr YM 1941, 36, 79, 94-100 and Chapter 2, pp. 80-81 for further discussion. In Aa §780, the demons flee to the 'Northern parts, among the inhabitants of the Caucasus mountains', whereas in TD they escape to the region of Media 'South of the Caspian Sea' which is what Koriwn Vardapet 1981, 88 also reports. I am grateful to Dr. Peter Cowe who suggested the use of the latter source to me.

[հարաւակողմն] Կասբիական ծովուն: Անդ դադարեցան դէքն ամենայն՝  
 հալածեալքն ի հայոց: Յիշեցուցանէր մեզ և վասն սրբոյն Նունէի մերոյ, և  
 վրաց վարդապետի, թէ ո՞րպէս ի Մծխիթայ քաղաքի բժշկեաց յանբուժական  
 ախտէն զՍողոմէ՝ զղուստր սորա, որ էր կին Միհրան[այ]՝ աղախնորդոյն  
 Արտաշրայ պարսկի: Եւ թէ ո՞րպէս հրաշ[ի]ւք քարոզեցաւ անունն Քրիս- 10  
 337՝ տոսի ի լեռնամալէսն Կովկասու, ի մէջ վայրելնամիտ բարբարոսացն: Նան  
 զմենամարտիլն իւր ընդ զաւթացոյն Գեթոնեհոնի և ընդ ճոպան[ա]ծիզ  
 [ճորացոյն]: Չայս ամենայն լուեալ մեր՝ ի ձայն արհնութեան փառաւորե-  
 ցաք զՔրիստոս Աստուած, որ զոյս փառաց իւրոց փայլեաց յըն[դ]հանուր

6 հարաւակողմն] f. om EF<sub>5</sub> հարաֆայկողմն F<sub>3</sub> հարաւոյ կողմն N<sub>2</sub> 6 Կասբիա-  
 կան] կասբից F<sub>5</sub> կասպիական T 6 դադարեցան] դատարեցին F<sub>3</sub> դադարեաց  
 F<sub>5</sub> 6 դէքն] + հայոց հալածեալքն F<sub>5</sub> f. om S<sub>1</sub> 6 դէքն ամենայն] ամենայն  
 դէքն B<sub>g2</sub>g<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 6 ամենայն] om FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 7 հալածեալքն] f. om BEg<sub>g</sub>IM<sub>2</sub>my  
 հալածեալ K 7 սրբոյն] om A<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 7 Նունէի] նունեայ + և մանեայ A<sub>g</sub> f. + ն BbEI  
 նունէի սրբոյ F<sub>5</sub> նոյնէի T 7 մերոյ] om A<sub>g</sub> մօր մերոյ F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 7 և] om A<sub>g</sub>CD<sub>g</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>  
 8 վարդապետի] f. + ն F<sub>3</sub> 8 Մծխիթայ] մցխիթայ BbF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> մծխթայ Igm մցխիթ y  
 8 քաղաքի] f. և F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> f. om y 8 յանբուժական] հանբուժական A յանբժշկական  
 A<sub>g</sub> ի բուժական B i. om S<sub>1</sub> 9 ախտէն] յաղթէն S<sub>1</sub> 9 զՍողոմէ] զսողոմոնէ BE  
 զսողոմոնէ I զսողոմէ K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 9 զղուստր] f. + ն E i. om I 9 սորա] i. և F<sub>5</sub> որպէս  
 E 9 էր] է g 9 էր կին] յերկրին F<sub>5</sub> 9 Միհրան[այ]] միրանայ Bb միրանա CFF<sub>3</sub>  
 մեհրանայ m միհրանս N<sub>2</sub> մերանայ S<sub>1</sub> 9 աղախնորդոյն] աղախնոյն որդոյն E  
 խորհրդակցի F<sub>5</sub> 10 Արտաշրայ] արտաշիրայ BEI արտիշարայ b արտաշիրի  
 y 10 պարսկի] պարսիկ F<sub>3</sub> 10 որպէս] որպիսի CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 10 հրաշ[ի]ւք  
 հրաշեաւք A հրաշաւք N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 10 քարոզեցաւ] քարոզաւ bS<sub>1</sub> 10 անունն] f. om  
 Cy 11 լեռնամալէսն] լեռնամալէն B<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> լեռնամալէսն CM<sub>2</sub>m f. om g լեռնամալէն T  
 11 Կովկասու] կովկասայ BbES<sub>1</sub> կովկասայ I 11 վայրենամիտ] վարենամիտ  
 B վարենամիտ I 11 բարբարոսացն] բարբառոսացն EF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>T f. om omt զայս  
 ամենայն y 12 զմենամարտիլն] զմենամարտէլն CK զմետնայմարտիլն  
 F<sub>3</sub> f. om m զմիայնամարտիլն T 12 իւր] om F<sub>5</sub>K 12 զաւթացոյն]  
 զաւթացոյն B գոթացոյն CK գոթացոյն E զաւղացոյն F գոթացոյն F<sub>3</sub> գոթացոյն  
 F<sub>5</sub> զաւթացոյն gM<sub>2</sub>m գոթացոյն M գողացոյն T 12 Գեթոնեհոնի] գեդոնեհոնի  
 BbEF գեթոնեհոնի C գեդոնեհոնի I գետոնեհոնի T 12 և] om A<sub>g</sub> 12 ճոպան[ա]ծիզ]  
 ճաւանածիզ A ճօպանածիզ F<sub>3</sub>T ճապանածիզ F<sub>5</sub> ճոպանա ձնիզ I ճոպանածիզ  
 N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 13 ճորացոյն] ճճորացոյն ACN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T ճորացոյն BbElm ճաւրացոյն F  
 ճիւրայացոյն F<sub>3</sub> ճորացոյն F<sub>5</sub> 13 Չայս] i. om F<sub>3</sub> 13 մեր] om F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 13 ի  
 ձայն արհնութեան] om B<sub>g</sub> 13-14 փառաւորեցաք] փառաւորեցայք KN<sub>9</sub>  
 14 Աստուած] + մեր IT 14 որ] + գոր T 14 զոյս] զոյս BC om T 14 փառաց]  
 փառաւորաց A f. + ն bS<sub>1</sub> 14 իւրոց] om B<sub>g2</sub> իւր y 14 փայլեաց] ծագեաց  
 B<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 14 յըն[դ]հանուր] յընթհանուր ABbKM<sub>2</sub>m ընդհանուր F<sub>3</sub> ընթհանուր F<sub>5</sub>  
 յընթհանուր gN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>Ty զընդհանուր S<sub>1</sub>

8 բշկեաց + 1<sup>0</sup> ժ w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub> 10 + հրաշաւք m<sup>R</sup> N<sub>9</sub>

Sea. There, all the demons, chased by Armenians, came to a halt. He also reminded us about our St. Nunē,<sup>96</sup> the teacher of the Georgians, and how in the city of Mxet'a she healed from an incurable disease Sołomē, his [Trdat's] daughter, who was the wife of Mihran—the son of the slave-concubine of Artasir the Persian; and how with miracles she preached the name of Christ in the mountains of Caucasus amid fierce barbarians. [He told] also about his fight with Get'rehon the Goth, the cord-throwing [warrior] from Čoray.<sup>97</sup> When we heard all this, with a voice of blessing, we glorified Christ God since the light of his glory shone in all parts [of

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<sup>96</sup> The account of Nunē, her healing of the Georgian queen, and the conversion of Georgia is based on MX 1913, 2.85, but information on Mihran's Persian lineage is found in the Armenian version of the *Kartlis Cxovreba* or *Georgian Chronicles*. See Chapter 2, pp. 81–82 for further discussion.

<sup>97</sup> The transition from the story of Nunē to Trdat's fight with Get'rehon is abrupt. Perhaps what ties it to Nunē is the geographical location of her evangelical activities, i.e. 'the mountains of Caucasus amid the fierce Barbarians' and the origin of the Barbarian Get'rehon from the 'Gates of Caucasus' or Čoray Pahak. Trdat's fight with a Barbarian northern king is mentioned in MX 1913, 2.85 and Uxtanēs 1871, 80–82 who depends on MX. These two authors do not specify the name of the king, while YM 1941, 129–136 does. Cfr Chapter 2, p. 81 for further discussion.

կողմանս հիւս[ի]սոյ, յարեւս և յարևմուտս, Երոպիական աշխարհիս, 15  
Յաբեթեանս բաժնիս:

16. Սոյնպէս և մեր պատմեցաք Տրդատայ՝ փեսայեղբարս իմում, զպատե-  
րագմիլն իմ յունական զարաւքս ընդ խուժադուժ ազգացն զաւթացոց,  
և զպարտութիւն իմ յայնկոյս Դանուբայ՝ գետոյն հզարի, և զերևումս  
ինձ յերկնից աստեղանշան խաչին, և զվերագիրն լուսեղէն, եթէ. «Այսու  
յաղթեացես», զորոյ զարինակն ետու դնել ի դրաւշային իմոյ և նկարել ի 5  
վառս սանջախացն և ուրբացն, նաև ի նշանս պատերազմական զինուցն և  
ի կուրտակս վեղենդի արացն, որովք զարացեալ զարացն իմոց, հարին

15 հիւս[ի]սոյ] հիւսուսոյ Bm հիւսըսոյ bE հիւսուսոյ CFIM<sub>2</sub>N<sub>2</sub> հիւսոյ g հիւսիսի  
y 15 յարեւս] յարեւս C i. om S 15 և] ի C om K<sub>g</sub> 15 յարևմուտս]  
i. om S<sub>1</sub> 15 Երոպիական] երոպական E և ըսպիական S<sub>1</sub> երոպական y  
15 աշխարհիս] f. ն F<sub>5</sub> 16 Յաբեթեանս] յաբեթան B յաբեթեանս F յաբեթեանս  
F<sub>5</sub> f. om g<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m յաբեթեան M<sub>2</sub> աբեթեանս T 16 բաժնիս] բաժին CF<sub>5</sub> բաժինս  
F<sub>3</sub> 16.1 Սոյնպէս] i. ն A<sub>g</sub>EF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> i. om y 1 մեր] մենք B 1 Տրդատայ] om F<sub>5</sub>  
տրդատեայ N<sub>9</sub> 1 իմում] մերում CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> + տրդատայ F<sub>5</sub> 1-2 զպատերագմիլն]  
զպատերագմէլն Ky 2 իմ] իմում BS<sub>1</sub> մեր Ely 2 յունական] յունակ T  
2 զարաւքս] f. ն FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 2 ազգացն] ազգն FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> i. + յ y 2 զաւթացոց] զաւթացոց B  
զոթացոց C զօթացոց EmS<sub>1</sub> զօթացոց Fy զութացոց F<sub>3</sub> զոթացոց F<sub>5</sub> զաւթացոցն  
I զոդացոց T 3 զպարտութիւն իմ] զմիւս պատերագմս F<sub>5</sub> 3 յայնկոյս] +  
ի<sub>ant</sub> AB<sub>g</sub>2F<sub>3</sub>IN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T ի կոյս C յանկոյս F<sub>5</sub> f. + ն IF<sub>3</sub>T 3 Դանուբայ] f. p AB<sub>g</sub>CF<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>T  
դանուբայ F<sub>5</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m [...] N<sub>9</sub> 3 հզարի] մեծի F<sub>5</sub> 4 ինձ] om AF<sub>5</sub>T իմ A<sub>g</sub> 4 յերկնից]  
+ ի<sub>ant</sub> AA<sub>1</sub>BbCEFF<sub>3</sub>g<sub>g</sub>IKM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>Ty i. om F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 4 աստեղանշան] աստեղանման  
AT աստղանշան A<sub>g</sub>bF<sub>3</sub> աստղանման F<sub>5</sub> 4 զվերագիրն] զվերադիրն FF<sub>3</sub>  
զվերնագիրն F<sub>5</sub>g<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m [...] N<sub>9</sub> 4 եթէ] թէ B<sub>g</sub>2 եթէ Cg և թէ T 4 Այսու] i. +  
յ S<sub>1</sub>T 5 յաղթեացես] յախթեացես T [...] N<sub>9</sub> 5 զորոյ] որ BbEly զարոյ C զոր  
S<sub>1</sub> 5 զարինակն] i. om S<sub>1</sub> 5 դրաւշային] դրաւշին BbE դրոշին CI դրաւշանին F  
դրոշակին F<sub>3</sub>T դրոշակին F<sub>5</sub> դրոշմին S<sub>1</sub>y [...] N<sub>9</sub> 5 և] om B<sub>g</sub>2 5 նկարել] նկարեալ  
B<sub>g</sub>2 նկարիլ m [...] N<sub>9</sub> 6 վառս] i. փ K<sub>g</sub> 6 սանջախացն] սանճախացն ABbEIFF<sub>3</sub>S<sub>1</sub>T  
f. om A<sub>g</sub> 2 անճաղացն F<sub>5</sub> սանչախացն y 6 ուրբացն] i. + յ AC ըրմպացն BbT  
i. + ը omt նշանս F<sub>5</sub> ըրմպաց gKM<sub>2</sub>m ըրմպացն S<sub>1</sub> ըրնպացն y 6 նշանս] f. om  
B<sub>g</sub> 6 պատերազմական] f. + u F<sub>3</sub> [...] N<sub>9</sub> 6 զինուցն] f. om A<sub>g</sub> 7 կուրտակս]  
կորակս F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> om ի<sub>ant</sub> F<sub>5</sub> կուրդակս gM<sub>2</sub>m կորդակս K<sub>g</sub> կորտակս T 7 վեղենդի]  
վեղենդի F [...] N<sub>9</sub> վաղենտի y 7 վեղենդի արացն] վեղէն դահացն g<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m  
7 արացն] արանցն AbCF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> արեանցն B արանց EF<sub>3</sub>Iy f. om F 7 որովք] f. om  
A<sub>g</sub> 7 զարացեալ] om C f. + p F<sub>3</sub>T 7 զարացն] f. om E

4 [այսու] + նշանաւ m<sup>L</sup> K, + նշանաւ with a different hand m<sup>R</sup> E; յայու + 3<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup>  
T 5 յաղթեացես 6<sup>0</sup> u corr u I 5 դրաւշին + w<sup>A</sup> 5<sup>0</sup> այ m; նկարել + w<sup>A</sup> 5<sup>0</sup> u E  
7 արեանցն 3<sup>0</sup> և ras B

the world], in the North, in the East, and in the West—in the land of Europe, the heritage of Japheth.

16. In the same manner we told Trdat, my<sup>98</sup> most intimate brother, how I waged war with my Greek army against the barbarian nations of the Goths and my defeat on the other side of the mighty river Danube, and about the apparition from the heavens of a star-signed Cross and a luminous epigraph: 'You will win with this.'<sup>99</sup> I gave this image to put on my flag and to paint on the signs of banners and slings, as well as on the emblems of military gear and on the helms of officials.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Even though the subject of the clause is in plural (we), the pronoun 'my' is in singular in Armenian. I have maintained this in English.

<sup>99</sup> While many sources talk about Constantine's vision of the Cross (usually in connection with the Battle of the Milvian Bridge), the author of TD here is indebted to a text known as the *Invention of the Cross*, cfr Nestlé 1895, 319–345 for the Greek text and Sanspeur 1974, 307–302 for the Armenian version. Only here is it noted that the vision took place on the 'banks of the Danube'. For further verbal parallels between TD and this *Vision of Constantine*, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 83–85.

<sup>100</sup> The Armenian version has an unidentified hapax here, possibly referring to *silentiarioi*. Cfr Chapter 3, p. 317 for discussion. I translated it more freely as 'officials'.

զիւղլսն հեթանոսական հիւսիսաբնական, և գղառնալն իմ յաղթութեամբ  
 ի Հռոմ: Բայց ի ճնշելն զիս երնջիս իմոյ, ստեցի ճշմարտութեան և դարձայ  
 ի թշուառութիւն իմ, զի հարաւ ի սիրտ իմ սուրն փափուկ, որ սպանանէ 10  
 և ոչ տայ զգալ: Դիմադարձ եղէ քրիստոնէական հաւատոյս, մոլեկան  
 338<sup>r</sup> պատերազմ յարուցի, զի զգաւրս իմ կոտորեցի, որք հաւատացելաք  
 էին ի Քրիստոս: Չոր ոչ արար անտես տէր, այլ էարկ զանձամբ իմով  
 զեղափանդական բորոտութիւն, զոր ոչ կարացին բուժել ճարտարքն ճեմա-  
 րանին, սոփեստէսքն սոկրատեան (և զովեալ գումարքն գաղիոսեան), մինչև 15  
 յայց ել մեզ արեգակն ի բարձանց և լուսաւորեալ բժշկեաց զմեզ սուրբս  
 Սեղբեստրոս և հաստատեաց զմեզ ի հաւատս ճշմարիտս:

8 զիւղլսն] f. om K<sub>g</sub> զիւղլսն T 8 հեթանոսական] om F<sub>5</sub> 8 հեթանոսական հիւսի-  
 սաբնական] հեթանոսականաց հիւսիսական գնդին γ 8 հիւսիսաբնական] հիւստիսաբնական Bb հիւստիսաբնական CFM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub> հիւսիսաբնական E  
 հիւսիսաբնական K 8 գղառնալն] գղառնեալն B 8 իմ] om C 8 յաղթութեամբ] ի հաղթութենք F<sub>3</sub> 9 Հռոմ] հռովմ C հռոմ F<sub>3</sub>g 9 ճնշելն] ճնշել B ճշնելս S<sub>1</sub>  
 9 երնջիս] երջիս F<sub>3</sub> երնջոյս gK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m էրինջիս I 10 իմ] եմ A<sub>1</sub> 10 հարաւ] f. և B<sub>g</sub>  
 10 սիրտ] f. + u A<sub>1</sub>bF<sub>3</sub>I 10 սպանանէ] սպանէ KM<sub>2</sub>m 11 ոչ] om F<sub>3</sub> 11 տայ զգալ]  
 տաս զալ E 11 զգալ] i. u bFF<sub>5</sub>gIM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 11 քրիստոնէական] քրիստոսական  
 KM<sub>2</sub>m 11 հաւատոյս] հաւատոցս g 12 յարուցի] յարուց C 12 զի] և AA<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub>γ  
 12 զգաւրս] i. om BEIK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m հզօրս F<sub>3</sub> i. om f. om T 12 կոտորեցի] կոտերեցի  
 B 12 որք] f. om A<sub>g</sub>Eγ 12 հաւատացեալք] f. om A<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 13 Քրիստոս] f. + ի  
 om ի<sub>ant</sub> EFly 13 Չոր] բայց A<sub>g</sub> f. + u C 13 ոչ] որ C 13 արար անտես] անտես  
 արար g 13 տէր] տէրն անտես F<sub>3</sub> f. + և F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub> 13 էարկ] i. om γ 13 իմով] իւրով  
 F<sub>5</sub> 14 զեղափանդական] om F<sub>5</sub> 14 բորոտութիւն] f. + և FI om S<sub>1</sub> 14 բուժել]  
 բժշկել B<sub>g</sub>A<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> + բուժկել F<sub>3</sub> 14 ճարտարքն] f. om AA<sub>g</sub>C 14-15 ճեմարանին]  
 ճեմարանիս + իմոյ D<sub>g</sub> 15 սոփեստէսքն] սոփեստէքն ABbI սոքեստէքս A<sub>1</sub>  
 սոփեստէքն C սոփեստէքն E սոփեստոքն F<sub>5</sub> սոփես սէ[ե M<sub>2</sub>]սքն gKM<sub>2</sub> սոփես  
 սէքնոս m սոփեստէքն S<sub>1</sub> սոփեստքն γ 15 սոկրատեան] սոկրատեան E  
 ոսկրատեան gKM<sub>2</sub>m սոկրատան I սոկրատեան T սոկրատն γ 15 և զովեալ  
 գումարքն գաղիոսեան] om F<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 15 գումարքն] f. om γ 15 գաղիոսեան]  
 գալիոսեան B<sub>g</sub>2F պաղիանոսեան gKM<sub>2</sub>m գալիոսէն γ 16 էլ] + ի<sub>ant</sub> CBb i. om ES<sub>1</sub>γ  
 16 արեգակն] արեգական F<sub>3</sub> 16 լուսաւորեալ] լուսաւորել N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 16 զմեզ] om S<sub>1</sub>  
 16 սուրբս] ի ձեռն սրբոյն F<sub>5</sub> 17 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոսի F<sub>5</sub> սեղբեստրիոս  
 I սեղբեստրոս S<sub>1</sub> 17 հաստատեաց] հայաստանեաց m 17 զմեզ] om A<sub>g</sub>  
 17 ճշմարիտս] f. om BEI omt 17.8 յիշատակն γ

9 ճշմարտութիւն իմ corr թշուառութիւն իմ I; թշութիւն + 2<sup>0</sup> ուառ w<sup>A</sup> A<sub>1</sub>;  
 ճշմարտութեան + 5<sup>0</sup> տ w<sup>A</sup> T 10 հարեան 4<sup>0</sup> ե ras B; սիրտս 5<sup>0</sup> u ras B 11 զգեալ 3<sup>0</sup> q  
 corr u, 3<sup>0</sup> ե ras B 12 հաւատացեալ + 10<sup>0</sup> p w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub> 13 + արար I<sup>A</sup> A 15 սոքրատեան  
 + 3<sup>0</sup> լ w<sup>A</sup> T 17 հաւատ [ճշմարիտս] + 5<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub>; սեղբեստրիոս 9<sup>0</sup> ի ras I

My army became empowered by it and crushed the multitude of pagan northerners, and I returned to Rome with victory. But as my wife<sup>101</sup> pressured me, I betrayed the truth and turned [back] to my misery, since my heart was pierced by a soft sword which kills but does not let you feel it.<sup>102</sup> I turned against the Christian faith, launched a fierce war and killed my forces which were believers of Christ. This was not unnoticed by the Lord who struck me with the elephantine leprosy, which neither the skillful [doctors] of the academies, nor Socratic philosophers nor the praiseworthy multitude of Galenic [doctors]<sup>103</sup> could cure, until the Sun from on high visited us and, having illuminated us, St. Sylvester healed us and confirmed us in the true faith.

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<sup>101</sup> The Armenian word used in this location—*երնջիս*—is usually applied to indicate a female ox but is found also in the sense of ‘wife, woman’ in the Armenian translation of the Bible. Cfr NBH.

<sup>102</sup> MX 1913, 2.83 mentions these details, e.g. Constantine’s conversion and apostasy under the influence of his wife. However, TD has closer verbal parallels with the Armenian version of the *Vita Silvestri*, VS [in SSEH], 720–722. For further discussion, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 86–88. His ‘elephantine leprosy’ and baptism by Sylvester are also described in these sources.

<sup>103</sup> The Armenian text has a garbled lemma here, e.g. *զաղիսուէան/պաղիսանուէան* in most mss, but two sister mss F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>4</sub> (not included in the apparatus, since their text is too corrupted) also attest to *զաղիսանուէան*. While I have not corrected the Armenian text, I have chosen this translation based on the context. The passage wishes to convey that traditional (presumably Galenic) medicine or wise philosophers could not cure Constantine, but this was achieved only through baptism by Sylvester. I express my gratitude to Dr. Sergio La Porta who had suggested this reading as an emendation even before I had access to mss F<sub>1</sub>F<sub>4</sub>.



17. Արդ, յայսմհետէ հնազանդիմք հաւրս մերոյ հոգևորի և զնեմք զթագ թագաւորութեանս մերոյ ընդ ոսիւք հայրապետացս սրբոց: Եւ մեք կամք ի ներքոյ ձեռին սոցա կամակատար ծառայ Աստուծոյ և Աստուածաբեալ սրբոց: Զի հաւատամ ճշմարտութեամբ, եթէ եաւթն սիւնք են յաշխարհիս ի մերում ժամանակիս՝ սուրբս Սեղբեստրոս յարևմուտս, և սուրբս Գրիգորիոս 5 յարևելս, և սուրբն Անտոն ի հարաւ, և սուրբն Նիկողայոս ի հիւսիս, սուրբն Մակար Երուսաղեմայ, և սուրբն Յակոբ Մծբնայ, և սուրբն Եփրեմ յՈռոհայ: Յիշատակ սոցա արհնութեամբ, և աղաւթք սոցա և ամենայն սրբոց ի վերայ ամենայն աշխարհի և ի պայագատ պաղատանս մերոյ:

17.1 յայսմհետէ] + ի<sub>ant</sub> BbS<sub>1</sub> 1 հնազանդիմք] հնազանդեմք AEF<sub>3</sub>g<sub>g</sub>KM<sub>2</sub> 1 մերոյ] omt ընդ ոսիւք E 2 թագաւորութեանս] թագաւորականս BbS<sub>1</sub> 2 ընդ] առ F<sub>5</sub> 2 հայրապետացս] + մերոց CFF<sub>5</sub> 2 սրբոց] om C 2 մեք] մենք B 2 կամք] om T 3 ի ներքոյ] om E 3 ձեռին] ոսից I ձեռաց S<sub>1</sub> 3 սոցա] + և F<sub>3</sub> 3 կամակատար] կամատար A<sub>1</sub>F կամակար B<sub>g2</sub> 3 ծառայ] f. + p A<sub>1</sub>T 4 հաւատամ] f. + p A<sub>1</sub>bF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> f. u I 4 եթէ] թէ A<sub>g</sub> 4 եաւթն] չորք A<sub>1</sub>T om E 4 սիւնք] f. om T 4 են] + է. E 4 յաշխարհիս] f. om A<sub>g</sub> + ի<sub>ant</sub> Bb i. om f. om F<sub>5</sub> 5 մերում] om ի<sub>ant</sub> bS<sub>1</sub> f. + u M<sub>2</sub>m 5 ժամանակիս] f. om AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>BbFIS<sub>1</sub> + u. E 5 սուրբս] f. և CF<sub>5</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub> 5 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոս S<sub>1</sub> 5 յարևմուտս] + ի<sub>ant</sub> i. om S<sub>1</sub> 5 և] om CF<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> p. E 5 սուրբս] f. և CD<sub>g</sub>EF<sub>5</sub> om I 5 Գրիգորիոս] գրիգոր ACFF<sub>5</sub> + լուսաւորիչն հայաստանեաց ի b 6 յարևելս] ի արևելս + հայաստանեաց S<sub>1</sub> 6 և] om CF<sub>5</sub> q. E 6 սուրբն] omt նիկողայոս EF<sub>3</sub> 6 Անտոն] անդոն ACK անտոն N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 6 և] om CF<sub>5</sub> 6 սուրբն] f. om AA<sub>1</sub>CEKN<sub>9</sub>T omt յակոբ A<sub>1</sub>T 6 Նիկողայոս] + զմիւռնա հայրապետն b նիկալայոս F նիկոլայոս K + զմիւռնո հայրապետն S<sub>1</sub> 6 հիւսիս] + և AA<sub>g</sub>D<sub>g</sub>I հիւսիւս BN<sub>2</sub> հիւսւս CF հիւսիւս + դ. E հիւսիս g հիւսսի K հիւսւսի M<sub>2</sub>m 7 Երուսաղեմայ] յերուսաղեմ AB<sub>g2</sub> յերուսաղեմի F<sub>5</sub> 7 և] է. E om F<sub>5</sub> 7 Յակոբ] յակովբ g յակոբոս T 7 Մծբնայ] ի մծբին AA<sub>1</sub>B<sub>g2</sub> omt յիշատակ սոցա A<sub>1</sub>T ի մծբինա I 7 և] q. E om F<sub>5</sub> 7 Եփրեմ] եփրեմ C 7 յՈռոհայ] յորհայ AA<sub>1</sub>BF<sub>5</sub> + ի<sub>ant</sub> D<sub>g</sub> + է. սբն. յոհան ի ասորիս E om F<sub>3</sub> i. om S<sub>1</sub> 8 Յիշատակ սոցա] որոյ յիշատակ սոցա b որոց յիշատակն F<sub>5</sub> 8 սոցա] i. և T 8 արհնութեամբ] + եղիցի bF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> արհնութիւն I 8 աղաւթք] աղօթիւք EF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>KM<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub> 8 սոցա] + բարեխօսութեամբ omt և ի պայագատ F<sub>3</sub> i. և T 8 սրբոց] f. + և + քրիստոս աստուած omt ամենայն F<sub>5</sub> 9 ամենայն] om bS<sub>1</sub> 9 աշխարհի] + ևս A<sub>g</sub> f. + u + եղիցի bS<sub>1</sub> 9 ի] + վերայ F<sub>5</sub> 9 պայագատ] պահագատ B<sub>g</sub> 9 պաղատանս] պաղատս A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>D<sub>g</sub> 9 մերոյ] մեր A<sub>1</sub>F<sub>5</sub>g<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m մեր + ամեն D<sub>g</sub> + ողորմեսցի ամեն F<sub>5</sub>

9 պայագատանս 3<sup>0</sup> j corr h w<sup>A</sup> A; անս + i. պաղատ corr պաղատանս A

17. Thus, from now on we obey our spiritual father and place the crown of our kingdom at the feet of the Holy Patriarchs. And under their guidance we are a docile servant of God and God-made saints. Since I truly believe that there are seven pillars in the world in our times: St. Sylvester in the West, St. Gregory in the East, St. Antony in the South, St. Nicholas in the North, St. Macarius in Jerusalem, St. James in Nisibis and St. Ephrem in Urha.<sup>104</sup> May their memory [remain] with blessings and may their prayers and those of all saints be in the whole world and for the successor<sup>105</sup> in our palace.

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<sup>104</sup> The enumeration of saints is very similar to a passage in the Armenian *Martyrdom of St. James (Arm)* 1813. On the significance of number seven and its ecclesiological implications, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 100–105.

<sup>105</sup> The Armenian is problematic. It uses *payazat* in acc. case (lit. *in our successor*) not appropriate in the context. I have translated the phrase according to the overall sense.

18. Արդ, եկեղեցի և եկեղեցականք, և վանք և վանականք, ամենայն գոյիւք իւրեանց ազատ և անհարկ լիցին յամենայն դիմոսական հարկաց արքունի: Նաև որք ունին զնշան կուսութեան և պարկեշտութեան, արք և 338<sup>v</sup> կանայք, չուխազգեստք և պարեգատեահանդերձք, ամենեկքեան ազատք լիցին և յարքունուստ զգեցցին և կերակրեցին: Իսկ որք անհնազանդին 5 հրամանաց մերոց և ընդ հարկաւ արկանեն զեկեղեցի կամ զքահանայ, զկրանաւոր կամ զհաւատաւոր, հարեալ, հալածեալ լիցին յերեսացն Աստուծոյ, և որոշեալք ի հաղորդութենէ սուրբ հաւատոյս, և պատիժ պատուհասի կրեցեն ի մերմէ թագաւորութենէս և յամենայն աթոռա- կալաց մերոց: Իսկ համարեն մարդիկ սեփիական ազգացս դաղմատացոց 10

18.1 եկեղեցի] om CF<sub>5</sub> f. + p F<sub>3</sub>y 1 և] om CF<sub>5</sub> 1 եկեղեցականք] omt ամենայն Ag<sub>2</sub> f. + և I 1 և] om bCF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 1 վանք] om F<sub>5</sub> 2 լիցին] լինիցին E 2 յամենայն] i. om KS<sub>1</sub> 2 դիմոսական] դիմոսական KM<sub>2</sub> 2 հարկաց] հարաց F<sub>3</sub> յարկացն F<sub>5</sub> 3 արքունի] արքունեայ B i. + j E 3 զնշան] i. om f. + u F<sub>5</sub> 3 և պարկեշտութեան] om B<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 3 արք] որք F<sub>3</sub> 4 չուխազգեստք] չուխասզեստք BIN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>y չուխա ազգեստք C f. om E չուխայազգեստք F չուխայզգեստք F<sub>3</sub> չուխայասզեստք gM<sub>2</sub>m չուխասզեստս I չուխա սզգեստք S<sub>1</sub> չոխազգեստք T 4 պարեգատեահանդերձք] պարեգատահանդերձք AA<sub>1</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T պարեգատ B պարեգատահանդերձք b պարեգատահանդերձք CgKM<sub>2</sub> պարեգոտս հանդերձք E պարգատահանդերձք I պարեգոտ հանդերձիւք S<sub>1</sub> պարեգոտէ հանդերձք y 4 ամենեքեան] ամենեքին A 4 ազատք] f. om Ag<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub> 5 լիցին] լինիցին ES<sub>1</sub> 5 յարքունուստ] i. om F<sub>5</sub> 5 յարքունուստ զգեցցին և կերակրեցին] կերակրեցին յարքունուստ և B<sub>g</sub> + սզեսցին B + զգեցցին bES<sub>1</sub>y + զգեցցեն I 5 զգեցցին] զգեսցին C սզեսցին gM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub> սզեսցին N<sub>9</sub> 5 անհնազանդին] անհնազանդեցին A<sub>g</sub> անհնազանդ[+p E] լիցին BEy անհնազանդ լինին bI անհնազդեն F<sub>5</sub> անհնազանդ լինիցին S<sub>1</sub> 6 հրամանաց] հրամաց B 6 մերոց] իմոց B<sub>g2</sub> 6 արկանեն] հարկանեն I արացեն y 6 կամ] և B 6 զքահանայ] + կամ A<sub>g</sub> + և կամ F<sub>3</sub> 7 զկրանաւոր] + և E զկրաւոր I 7 կամ] և AT<sub>1</sub> om F<sub>2</sub>F<sub>3</sub> 7 զհաւատաւոր] f. + u F<sub>4</sub> հաւատվոր I զհաւատայորT 7 հարեալ] + և AB<sub>g</sub>T 7 հալածեալ լիցին] հալածեսցեն և որոշեալ լիցին F<sub>5</sub> 7 լիցին] լիցի F<sub>3</sub> լցին T 7 յերեսացն] i. om S<sub>1</sub> 8 որոշեալք] f. om FF<sub>3</sub> բաժանեալք F<sub>5</sub> 8 հաւատոյս] omt 19.12-13 և արդ հաւաքելով F<sub>5</sub> հաւատոցս S<sub>1</sub> 8 պատիժ] + ի<sub>ant</sub> E f. + u F 9 ի մերմէ] մերում D<sub>g</sub>Ey ձերում I 9 յամենայն] i. om S<sub>1</sub> om y 9-10 աթոռակալաց] i. + j Ey 10 համարեն] համօրէ F<sub>3</sub> համարեն S<sub>1</sub> 10 մարդիկ] f. + p ABS<sub>1</sub> 10 սեփիական] սեփական A<sub>1</sub>BIK<sub>g</sub> 10 ազգաց] f. om A<sub>g</sub>y 10 դաղմատացոց] դաղմատացոց AA<sub>1</sub>CEF<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub> դաղմատացոցս A<sub>g</sub> դաղմատացոցս BbS<sub>1</sub>

2 և անհարկ + L<sup>A</sup> A; դիմոսական + 4<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> B; դիմոսական + 2<sup>0</sup> մ w<sup>A</sup> m 4 չուխազգեստք 6<sup>0</sup> q corr u w<sup>A</sup> A<sub>1</sub> 5 սզեսցին 1<sup>0</sup> and 4<sup>0</sup> u corr g with a different hand B 7 զկրաւոր corr զկրանաւոր (?) I 7 եալ + հալած m<sup>L</sup> K 10 մեր + 3<sup>0</sup> ng L<sup>B</sup> b 10 համարէ + 7<sup>0</sup> և w<sup>A</sup> M<sub>2</sub>; ազգաց + 5<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> A

18. Thus, may the Church and clerics, monasteries and monks, with all their belongings, be free and exempt from all royal taxes. And those who bear the sign of virginity and humility, men and women, those who wear a woollen monastic habit and those who wear a tunic, may they all be free and clothed and fed from royal [coffers]. And those who disobey our orders and exert a tax from a church or a priest, a religious [person] or a monk, shall be castigated and chased down from the face of God, excommunicated from the holy faith and penalised with great punishments by our royal [authorities] and all [successive] holders of our chair. On the other hand, all people of our own nations of Dalmatians

և հայոց ամեննին անգլխահարկ լիցին, բայց յամենայն վաստակոց իւրեանց հնգակք տացեն ի դրունս արքունի, և այլ դիմոս ի դրունս նոցա մի՝ երթիցէ: Իսկ այլ ազգք և լեզուք, զորս մեծաւ պատերազմաւ հնազանդեցուցաք մեք և հայք, նոքա պարտին մեզ զգինս գլխոց իւրեանց, բաց ի հնգակէն: Եւ տան մեզ ոսկի և արծաթ ըստ կարի ի տարին երեք անգամ. գարունն ի գլխէ, և 15 ամառն յանասնէ, և աշունն յարդեանց մտէ: Իսկ աղքատքն և աւտարքն ընդ այսո[ւ]իկ մի՝ յիշեցին: Բայց վաճառականքն, որք շրջին անահ և շահին ի մերում աշխարհիս և յամենայն իշխանութեան մերում, և ոսկէհանք, և արծաթահանք բաժինս հանցեն մեզ:

339<sup>r</sup> 19. Իսկ ի հանգչել հրամանաց հզարիս մերոյ, ես՝ ինքնագլուխ պո[ւ]տայ պապայս Հռոմայ Սեղբեստրոս, և ամենայն աշխարհի, յորժամ տեսի

11 և հայոց] om  $A_g$  11 ամեննին] ամեննին BC 11 անգլխահարկ] գլխահարկ E անգլուխ հարկ  $F_3$  f. p K 11 յամենայն] ամեն E 11 իւրեանց] իւրոց E 12 հնգակք] հնկակք  $AN_2$  հնկեակք  $F_3$  հնգեակ  $KM_2m$  հնգեակս T 12 հնգակք տացեն ի դրունս արքունի] ի հնգէն զմինն տան ի տունս արքունի BbI ի հրկէն զմինն տան ի տունս արքունի[ս  $S_1$ ]  $ES_1$  հնգէն զմինն տացեն ի տունս արքունի y 12 դրունս] տունս C 12 արքունի] om AF 12 ի դրունս նոցա մի՝ երթիցէ] մի՝ երթիցէ ի դրունս նոցա  $A_g$  12 դրունս] f. om  $A_1N_2N_9T$  12 երթիցէ] երթացէ B երթայցէ CEI 13 ազգք] f. om  $AB_y$  om E 13 զորս] f. om AB 14 մեզ] + տալ  $D_gI$  14 զգինս] f. om T 14 բաց] բայց  $ABbEIKS_1Ty$  14 հնգակէն] հնկակէն  $AF_3N_2$  հնգեկէն  $BbgIM_2my$  հնկէէն E հնգէն K հնկէն  $S_1$  14 տան] տացեն y 15 կարի] կարգի C 15 ի] om  $A_gC$  15 գլխէ] f. + և I 15 և] om  $B_gF_3$  16 ամառն] i. + j E f. + և  $gM_2$  16 յանասնէ] i. om  $ES_1$  16 և] om  $B_g$  16 յարդեանց] + ի<sub>ant</sub> C յանդեաց F i. om  $S_1$  յարդանց T 16 աղքատքն] f. om  $AB_gCT$  աղքատ  $A_1$  16 աւտարքն] f. om  $B_g$  17 այսո[ւ]իկ] այնոսիկ  $AIS_1$  i. + j bC այսոքիկ  $N_2$  17 յիշեցին] իշխեցին B յիշեցին C 17 վաճառականքն] f. om  $AA_gB_g$  17 որք] f. om  $AA_gBbCE_y$  17 անահ] om  $bS_1$  f. + p T 17 և] om C 18 մերում] om B մեր  $IK_g$  18 մերում աշխարհիս] յաշխարհիս մերում b յաշխարհէս մերում  $S_1$  18 աշխարհիս] i. + j  $D_g$  18 և] om  $A_g$  18 յամենայն] om C i. om  $ES_1T$  18 իշխանութեան] f. + u  $B_gF_3$  իշխանութիւն g 18 ոսկէհանք] ոսկեհանք  $A_1EF$  18-19 և արծաթահանք] om F f. q T 19 բաժինս] f. om CT 19 հանցեն] արացեն  $S_1$  տայցեն y 19.1 հանգչել] հանկչել  $AA_1$  om ի<sub>ant</sub> C om F f. + և  $F_3$  1 հրամանաց] f. + u  $S_1$  1 հզարիս] f. և E 1 հզարիս մերոյ] մերոց հզարիս  $F_3S_1$  1 մերոյ] մեր y 1 ես] և  $A_gD_gE$  և ես  $I_y$  1-2 պոտայ պապայս] պոտապապոյս  $K_g$  պոտապապայս  $M_2mN_2T$  1 պոտայ] պոտոյ A om  $A_1F$  ֆրոյտ  $BbI$  f. om  $CF_3g$  ֆրանգ E ֆրոյտ  $S_1$  ֆրոտոյ y 2 պապայս] պապս  $AA_1F_y$  պապաս E պապոյս  $S_1$  2 Հռոմայ] f. + u A հռովմայ  $BCKM_2mN_2$  + և ամենայն աշխարհի  $F_y$  հռովմայ g om T 2 Սեղբեստրոս] սեղբեստրոս  $F_y$  սեղբեստոս M 2 և ամենայն աշխարհի] om  $F_y$  2 աշխարհի] f. + u  $B_g$  2 տեսի] + ես  $D_g$

1 հանչել +  $3^0 q w^A g$  1 + ֆրոտոյ  $m^L A$

and Armenians, shall be fully free of head-taxes, but give to the royal court one fifth of all their earnings. And no other tax-collector shall approach them. But other nations and languages, whom we and the Armenians subjugated with a great war, shall give us a head-tax besides the one-fifth tax. And they shall give us gold and silver according to their capacity three times a year: in the spring for the head-[tax], in the summer from the income of their animals and in the autumn from those of the fields. However, the poor and the strangers shall not be counted [for the payment of these taxes] but merchants, who circulate without fear and earn profits in our domain, as well as gold and silver miners, shall give us a part [of their earnings].<sup>106</sup>

19. After<sup>107</sup> our mighty [Emperor] finished his orders, I, the autocephalous *Proto-Pope*<sup>108</sup> of Rome and of the whole world, Sylvester, when

<sup>106</sup> This description probably reflects the real taxation policy in Armenian Cilicia. The Armenian Church was an important land owner both in Greater Armenia and in Cilicia. Sources speak about various donations made by kings and princes to churches and monasteries. Since many of these were headed by representatives of important feudal families, such donations were not only a means of not alienating real estate from one family but also putting it in a privileged position. Churches and monasteries, indeed, were not taxed. Cfr Bořnazyan 1973, 205–216; Langlois 1863, 65. Moreover, what TD says about the one-fifth tax and the head-tax (not withheld from Christians but from non-Christians) is confirmed also by the *Lawbook* of Mxit'ar Goš, MG 1975, 31–32. The head-tax was introduced under the influence of the Muslim system of taxation and it was, indeed, collected only on the Muslim subjects of the Armenian King. Langlois 1863, 37. TD mentions that merchants 'who circulate freely' should pay taxes. This may be an indication that TD was written before the stipulation of the first treaties with the Genoese and the Venetians in 1201. Cfr Sopracasa 2001, since after these agreements the Genoese and then the Venetian merchants were granted tax privileges, for the first time under King Levon I. However, TD refers to merchants in general without specifying their provenance. Its statements may reflect the reality before these privileges were introduced. Cfr also Langlois 1863, 105–112.

<sup>107</sup> Here the narration is always in the first person but the narrator is Sylvester.

<sup>108</sup> I have maintained the Greek transcription of *Proto* found in the Armenian text (as *přtay*).

[զ]գարդու զաւակս իմ Կոստանդիանոս կայսրս, որ յամենայն զարութենէ իւրմէ զարացոյց և պատուեաց զպսակաւորն Հայոց Մեծաց զՏրդատէս և փառաւորեաց զազգն հայոց և զաշխարհն, սմին նման և նոյն հանգունակ 5 ըստ այսմ արարի, և ես յաժարեցայ ի պատուել զմեծ խոստովանողս Քրիստոսի՝ զգահակիցս իմ զԳրիգորիոս: Կամակցութեամբ կայսերս մեծի, հրաման հանի ի հնազանդեալքս իմ՝ ի մերձակայ ազգս և յաշխարհս իտալացոց (և ալամանացոց և սպանիացոց) իշխանութեանս, և ժողովեցի զամենայն արքեպիսկոպոսունս և զամենայն ուխտս եկեղեցոյ ի դուռն 10 դոնաբացացս արքայութեան, ի պատուեալ պաշտգամս սրբոցս Պետրոսի

3 [զ]գարդու] i. om BCEF<sub>3</sub>T i. ը N<sub>2</sub> 3 զաւակս] f. և γ 3 Կոստանդիանոս] i. + q AD<sub>g</sub>γ կոստանդիանոս E կոստանդիս K 3 կայսրս] f. om AA<sub>g</sub>CD<sub>g</sub>EFF<sub>3</sub>I i. + q S<sub>1</sub> f. և γ 3 յամենայն] f. + ի BbEIS<sub>1</sub> i. om ES<sub>1</sub> i. q F<sub>3</sub> 3-4 զարութենէ իւրմէ] om B<sub>g2</sub> 4 իւրմէ] om γ 4 և պատուեաց] և պատուաց B om A<sub>g</sub> 4 զպսակաւորն] զպսակակալն γ 4 Մեծաց] om B<sub>g</sub> 4 զՏրդատէս] զՏրդատ BC + թագաւորն D<sub>g</sub> 5 զազգն] f. u F<sub>3</sub> 5 հայոց] + զՏրդատէս C 5 զաշխարհն] f. u EI 5 նման] om B<sub>g</sub> 5 հանգունակ] omt արարի B գունակ E հանկունակ I 6 այսմ] f. om bEIS<sub>1</sub>γ 6 այսմ արարի] այսմ սարարի A այսմ սարասի A<sub>1</sub>CFK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> այսմ արասի gF<sub>3</sub>T 6 ես] + յաժարութեամբ bS<sub>1</sub> 6 յաժարեցայ] յաժարութեամբ B + և ես bEIS<sub>1</sub> om γ 6 պատուել] om ի<sub>ant</sub> BC 6 խոստովանողս] f. և BF<sub>3</sub>S<sub>1</sub>T 7 կայսերս] կա սերս A<sub>1</sub> f. om E 8 հրաման հանի] հրամանահանի I 8 հնազանդեալքս] հնազանդեալն F<sub>3</sub> 8 իմ] + և D<sub>g</sub>EI 8 մերձակայ] om ի<sub>ant</sub> S<sub>1</sub> 8 ազգս] i. + j bF<sub>3</sub> 8 յաշխարհս] + ի<sub>ant</sub> AF<sub>3</sub> i. om K<sub>g</sub> 9 իտալացոց] յիտալացոց E իտաղացոց gKM<sub>2</sub>m 9 և] om A<sub>1</sub>CF<sub>3</sub>gKM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T 9 ալամանացոց] ամալնացոց A om A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>F<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T ալամանացոց BS<sub>1</sub> ալամնաց C ալամացոց E ալամնիսցոց F ալամացոց I 9 սպանիացոց] սպանիացոց AF om A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>F<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T i. + ի B սպաննիացոց E + ի<sub>ant</sub> γ 9 իշխանութեանս] իշխանութիւնս A<sub>g</sub>bCN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>Ty 9 և] om T 10 ուխտս] f. om Fg<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mTy 10 եկեղեցոյ] f. + u A f. + և C [...] N<sub>9</sub> 10 դուռն] դրունս D<sub>g</sub> f. u I f. + u γ 11 դոնաբացացս] + դրանն bEIS<sub>1</sub>γ դոնաբացս E դոաբացացս F<sub>3</sub> դոնաբացայս g դոնաբացեացս T f. om γ 11 դոնաբացացս արքայութեան] Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի B + երկնից bS<sub>1</sub> 11 պատուեալ] պատուել AB<sub>g</sub>FT 11 պաշտգամս] զպատգամս A<sub>1</sub>γ պատշգամ A<sub>g</sub> om B զպատգամ bCES<sub>1</sub> զպաշտգամս F 11 սրբոցս] զսուրբս + աստուծոյ omt և հաւաքելով B + աստուծոյ bS<sub>1</sub> 11-12 Պետրոսի պռետորի] պռետորի պետրոսի E

5 փառաւորաց + 7<sup>0</sup> և with a different hand w<sup>A</sup> B 11 ditt արք ras b

I saw how my dear son Emperor Constantine strengthened and honoured the crowned king of Great Armenia Trdatēs, and glorified the nation and the country of Armenians with all his might, I also acted like this and in the same way. I also wished to honour the great confessor of Christ and my co-ruler Gregory. With the concordance of the great Emperor, I proclaimed an order to those subject to me, to the nearby nations and countries under the rule of the Italians and the Alamans and the Spaniards,<sup>109</sup> and I assembled all archbishops and the whole covenant of the Church to the open doors of the Kingdom, to the venerated *niche*<sup>110</sup> of saints Peter, the *pretor*,

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<sup>109</sup> Considering that TD was written around the time of the coronation of Levon II as King Levon I by the Holy Roman Emperor, the mention of the land of the Alamans here is not surprising. The land of 'Italy' is also clear. There is another source which mentions Italy and Spain together as papal territories, i.e. a letter of Catholicos Grigor Apirat to Pope Innocent III, in the year 1202. Haluščynskyj 1946, 566. Here we read: 'Verum gravissimus in Christo, quia audivimus a vobis legem nostram prope Romanam esse admotam, quae est totius mundi catholica Ecclesia, et sedet in capite Italiae et Hispaniae ....'

<sup>110</sup> The Armenian text has two competing variants here պաւնդաւ (a niche, small upper construction, but also *bema*) and պաւնգաւ (order, instruction). For a discussion Cfr Chapter 3, pp. 318–320. I have selected the variant պաւնդաւ for reasons outlined in Chapter 3, and translated it as a *niche* here.



պոետորի և Պաւղոսի գլխափոխանիս Քրիստոսի, հաւաքելով առ մեզ զբազմութիւն սրբութեանցս, որք կան ի մերում աշխարհիս ի Հերակլեան արձանէն մինչ յարձանն Մելիտեան, և ի Սեպտէ կղզոյն, որ հայի հանդէպ Ատլաս լերինն, մինչև ի Սիկիլիայ կղզին, յորում կայ հրակատարն 15

12 պոետորի] պոիտորի Agm պոոտորի  $bS_1$  պեոետորի C գլխափոխանիս Քրիստոսի T պոոտոտորի  $\gamma$  12 Պաւղոսի] պողոսի E 12 գլխափոխանիս] f. om bEIS<sub>1</sub> $\gamma$  պոետորի T 12 Քրիստոսի] om  $A_1 +$  և  $BbS_1$  13 զբազմութիւն] i. om  $F_5$  13 սրբութեանցս] սրբութեանս  $B_{g2}F_5$  13 որք] f. om  $BCF_5$  13 Հերակլեան] հերակլան B 13-14 Հերակլեան արձանէն] յարձանէն հերակլեայ om  $\rho_{ant} F_5$  14 արձանէն] արձանեան  $N_2N_9$  14 մինչ] f. + և  $AbCEF_3F_5I\gamma$  14 յարձանն] յարժան B i. om  $ES_1 + \rho_{ant} F_5$  14 Մելիտեան] հերակլեան  $A_1 + \rho_{ant} A_gB$  մելիտենեայ  $F_5$  մելիտեան T մելիտէն  $\gamma$  14 Սեպտէ] սպէտէ  $B_g$  սեպտի om  $\rho_{ant} F_5$  սպէտ  $S_1$  սէպտէ T 14 կղզոյն] omt որում կար C 15 Ատլաս] այալաս  $B_{g2}$  պատլաս  $FF_5$  տալաս  $\gamma$  15 լերինն] լերինէ I 15 մինչև] f. om  $A_1FN_2$  15 ի Սիկիլիայ] իսկիլիայ A ի սկիլիայ B f. om E ի սիկլայ  $F_5$  իսկելայ K իսկիլայ  $M_2m$  իսկիլիա  $\gamma$  15 յորում] i. om AEF 15 կայ] կայր ACF 15 հրակատարն] հայրակատարն E

12 + պոետորի  $L^A F$  15 հրակա արն +  $5^0$  տ  $w^A A$

and Paul, the successor of Christ.<sup>111</sup> I assembled a multitude of holy men<sup>112</sup> who are in our lands from the Pillar of Hercules<sup>113</sup> till the Pillar of Malta,<sup>114</sup> and from the island of Septem<sup>115</sup> which stands facing Mount Atlas until the Island of Sicily, where the fire-pick

<sup>111</sup> I have not been able to identify the sources of these unusual appellations. It is Peter who is habitually considered the successor of Christ and it would be more befitting to call Paul a *praetor* in the Roman sense, i.e. the interpreter of the Law (of Christ). Yet, this reading is attested in all mss and no emendations can be suggested either in the Armenian text or for the translation.

<sup>112</sup> The Armenian word is an abstract noun, lit. the 'multitudes of holiness' which I have translated into English in its non-abstract meaning. The phenomenon of replacing non-abstract nouns with their abstract equivalents is something commonly found in Armenian mss, even as variant *lectiones*. Cfr Stone 1993, 21–22.

<sup>113</sup> In the description of Lybia the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* nominates the 'Strait of Hercules'. Anania Širakac'i 2004 (1881), 18 and the Long Recension (ms V1245), 25, where the Strait of Hercules is identified with Septem, whence the 'Grecian Sea' (i.e. the Mediterranean) originates. When describing the 'Ocean', a Great Atlas and a Lesser Atlas are mentioned near the strait of Septem, and various rivers that flow between them are nominated. Cfr Anania Širakac'i 2004 (1881), 10 and in the Long Recension (ms V1245), 11. Further in the text, both recensions (1881, p. 18 and V1245, p. 25) enumerate five mountains in Lybia, including the Lesser Atlas which is said to be 'very famous'. However, the author of TD could have known about the Pillar of Hercules independently of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* as the westernmost edge of the Mediterranean Sea. This is actually what he is trying to convey in the text, i.e. from the westernmost edges of the Mediterranean up to the islands of Malta and Sicily. It is interesting that these are not the easternmost islands of the Mediterranean (he did not mention, for example, Cyprus). The author may have wished to emphasise his (or his commissioner's) understanding of how far East in the Mediterranean the Pope's jurisdiction should reach. Or, since he was writing a forgery and attempting to re-create a fourth century situation, he was careful not to 'betray' a situation typical for his own times, i.e. that the Catholic church hierarchy existed much further East due to the Crusader conquests.

<sup>114</sup> I have not been able to identify the Pillar (or Column) of Malta to which the author refers.

<sup>115</sup> As was said in note 113, Septem is mentioned in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* as the westernmost edge of the 'Grecian Sea'. It is specified that the Grecian Sea starts there. In the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, however, Septem is not an 'island'. It is first referred to generically as a 'location' (i.e. *tehi*), but then clarified to be a strait. Anania Širakac'i 2004 (1881), 10–11 and the Long Recension Ibid, (ms V1245) 11.

Բառկանիայ: Սոքաւք ամենեքումքք և հզար աջով սուրք առաքելոցս և նշանաւ խաչիս Քրիստոսի՝ ձեռնադրեցաք զկաթողիկոսն հայոց զսուրբն 339<sup>v</sup> Գրիգոր՝ պապ և պատրիարք և հայրապետ, հրամանահան | տիեզերական ժողովս, համապատիւ մեր հզար արթոռոյս և Երուսաղէմացոյն և Անտիոքացոյն և Աղէքսանդրացոյն, և արինեցաք զսա ահաւոր անուամբ 20 սուրք երրորդութեան՝ դնելով ի վերայ արժանաւոր զլիտ սորա զաջ սրբոյս Պետրոսի՝ վարչամակաւս Քրիստոսի: Եւ արարաք զսայ պատրիարք Հայոց Մեծաց, [զի ինքնս] և ամենայն արթոռաժառանգ սորա

16 Բառկանիայ] բոկանիայ BbEIS<sub>1</sub>y բառկանեա F<sub>5</sub> 16 Սոքաւք] սոքա EI 16 ամենեքումքք] ամենեքումք AA<sub>1</sub>BCFM<sub>2</sub>mT ditt F<sub>5</sub> 16 աջով] f. + ն B f. + p S<sub>1</sub> 16 առաքելոցս] f. ն F<sub>3</sub> առաքելովքս S<sub>1</sub> 17 նշանաւ] + սուրք B<sub>g</sub> 17 խաչիս] խաչիւ B<sub>g2</sub> 17 Քրիստոսի] om B<sub>g</sub> 17 զկաթողիկոսն] i. om f. om A<sub>g</sub> զկաթողիկոսն CFF<sub>5</sub> f. om EF<sub>3</sub>y կաթողիկոս g զկաթողիկոսս I 17 զկաթողիկոսն հայոց] հայոց զկաթողիկոսս D<sub>g</sub> 17 զսուրբն] f. om A<sub>1</sub>FN<sub>2</sub>T om B f. u bEIS<sub>1</sub>y 18 Գրիգոր] om B 18 պապ] om A<sub>1</sub>K<sub>g</sub> 18 ն] om K<sub>g</sub> 18 պատրիարք] f. p BF<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub>T 18 հայրապետ] om D<sub>g</sub> + և y 18 հրամանահան] հրամանաւ FF<sub>5</sub> f. + ի F<sub>3</sub> 18-19 տիեզերական ժողովս] տիեզերաժողով A<sub>g</sub> + և հայրապետ b + հայրապետ S<sub>1</sub> 19 ժողովս] ժողովոյս AB<sub>g</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub> ժողովովս A<sub>1</sub> 19 արթոռոյս] արթողոցս F<sub>3</sub> արթողոցս K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 19 ն] om A<sub>g</sub>Cy 19 Երուսաղէմացոյն] երուսաղէմացոյն AEIN<sub>2</sub> երուսաղէմին A<sub>g</sub> երուսաղէմացոյն Bb երուսաղէմացոյն F<sub>3</sub> երուսաղէմայ F<sub>5</sub> յերուսաղէմացոյն S<sub>1</sub> յերուսաղէմացոյն T 20 Անտիոքացոյն] անտիոքացոյն A անտիոքացոյն A<sub>1</sub>bS<sub>1</sub> անտիոքացոյն BTy անտիոքայն C անտիոքացոյն EIN<sub>2</sub> անտիոքացոյն F անտիոքացոյն F<sub>3</sub> անտիոքայ F<sub>5</sub> անտիոքին gK<sub>g</sub> անտոքին M<sub>2</sub>m 20 Աղէքսանդրացոյն] աղէքսանդրացոյն A աղէկսանդրացոյն A<sub>1</sub>bS<sub>1</sub> աղէկսանդրացոյն BIN<sub>9</sub> աղէքսանդրացոյն Cy աղէկսանդրացոյն EN<sub>2</sub> om և<sub>ant</sub> om F աղէքսանդրացոյն F<sub>3</sub> աղէքսանդրո F<sub>5</sub> աղէքսանդրին g<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m աղէկսանդրացոյն T 20 արինեցաք] արինեցայք KN<sub>9</sub>T 20 ահաւոր] om FF<sub>5</sub> 21 սուրք] ամենասուրք F<sub>5</sub> 21 երրորդութեան] f. + ն N<sub>9</sub> 21 դնելով] դնել A<sub>g</sub> 21 սորա] om C սորոյ I 22 սրբոյս] f. ն ABbCEF<sub>5</sub>IS<sub>1</sub>Ty սուրք A<sub>g</sub> [...] 19.23 պատրիարք F + առաքելոյս g + առաքելոցս KM<sub>2</sub> 22 վարչամակաւս] վարչամակաւքս B<sub>g</sub> f. ն F<sub>5</sub> 22 արարաք] արաք C արաք T 23 պատրիարք] f. p EF<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub>T + և հայրապետ հրամանահան F<sub>3</sub> 23 [զի ինքնս] զինքն C զի նքնս N<sub>2</sub> 23 ինքնս] ինքս AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>BbEFF<sub>5</sub>IS<sub>1</sub>Ty f. om F<sub>5</sub> 23 արթոռաժառանգ] f. + p ABbFg<sub>g</sub>IKM<sub>2</sub>my 23 սորա] + ինքնակալ և bS<sub>1</sub>

16 ամենեքումք + 9<sup>0</sup> p w<sup>A</sup> N<sub>9</sub> 18 հայրապե + 7<sup>0</sup> տ w<sup>B</sup> M<sub>2</sub> 19 + ե[րուսաղ]էմ, անտիոք, աղէկս[անտիոքիայ] m<sup>UR</sup> K; + ե[րուսաղ]էմ, աղէքսանդրիա, Եփեսոս-Կոնստանտին[ի]ն[ոպոլիս], Էջմիածին, Կիպրոս, Հռոմ m<sup>BR</sup> KM<sub>2</sub>; a small church-shaped drawing m<sup>BR</sup> M<sub>2</sub> 20 աղէքսանդրացոյն + 8<sup>0</sup> p w<sup>A</sup> A 21 արժաւոր + 3<sup>0</sup> ան w<sup>A</sup> T 22 սրբոյ + և 5<sup>0</sup> w<sup>A</sup> B 23 արթոռայառանգ + 6<sup>0</sup> ժ w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub>

of Vulcanus is,<sup>116</sup> with all of them and with the mighty right-hands of the Apostles<sup>117</sup> and the sign of Christ's cross, we ordained the Catholicos of the Armenians, Holy Gregory, as Pope, Patriarch and *Hayrapet*,<sup>118</sup> commandant at universal councils, equal in dignity to our mighty See and those of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria.<sup>119</sup> And we blessed him with the awesome name of the Holy Trinity, putting on his worthy head the right hand of St. Peter with the *sudarium* of Christ.<sup>120</sup> And we made him the Patriarch of Great Armenia, so that he and all the successors on his chair

<sup>116</sup> In the description of the Island of Sicily, the *Ašxarhač'oyc'* enumerates its mountains. In the printed edition Anania Širakac'i 2004 (1881) and ms V1245 of the Long Recension, the mount Bornos of Sicily is told to have 'its pick always ablaze with fire'. However, Hewsen 1992, 91–92 note 60 reveals that in numerous mss of the Short Recension the variant Borkanos (similar to what is found in TD) or its variations Urkanos, Barkanos, Barknos are found, which are corruptions of Latin Vulcanus. He explains that from the description of the mountain it could only refer to Mt. Etna. The same applies to TD and I have translated Mt. Barkaneay as Mt. Vulcanus.

<sup>117</sup> There is a grammatical problem in the Armenian. While the 'right hand' is in singular, the 'Apostles' is in gen. pl. with no competing variants. Thus, I have translated the expression as the 'right hands of the Apostles'. I assume that Sylvester is referring to the relics 'of the arms' of Apostles Peter and Paul, of which he will give a piece to Gregory (further in the text). Several lines below, however, it is specified that the Pope used (only) the right hand of Apostle Peter during the ordination ceremony. It is significant that in the midst of the rite of ordination, at the most crucial moment of this Liturgy, Sylvester does not place his own hand on Gregory's head but that of the Apostle Peter. This would diminish the significance of a 'dependant' relationship between Gregory and the Pope who ordains him as Catholicos. For further reflections on this issue, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 95–96.

<sup>118</sup> The text leaves the impression that Gregory was already a catholicos and was ordained by Sylvester as Pope and Patriarch, *hayrapet* being the Armenian translation of the Greek *patriarch*.

<sup>119</sup> This is the most important indication of TD's author's ecclesiology. While he admits that Sylvester ordains Gregory, he not only attenuates the significance of this ordination, but also declares in the words of Sylvester, that Gregory was equal not only to the Pope but also to the other Eastern Patriarchs. Towards the end of the text it will be emphasised that Gregory, in fact, was to be of higher dignity than the holders of the Sees of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. For efforts in Cilician Armenia to supplant the Patriarch of Antioch or be considered of higher dignity, cfr Chapter 1, pp. 34–35 and Chapter 2, pp. 96–100. The ordination of Gregory by Sylvester was mentioned also in a letter of Catholicos Grigor Tlay to Northern Bishops from 1178, NS 1871, 322. But while Grigor Tlay also mentions that the Illuminator first went to Caesarea, then to Rome, TD is silent on the traditional account of Gregory's ordination in Caesarea by Bishop Leontius found in Aa §805. SA also talks about the ordination of a Gregory (not the Illuminator but his offspring) by a Roman Pontiff, SA 1976, 56.

<sup>120</sup> On the *sudarium* of Christ cfr Chapter 2, p. 96.

ինքնագլուխք եղիցին՝ յիւրեանց եպիսկոպոսացն առնելով ձեռնադրութիւն, առաջարկութեամբ իւրեանց թագաւորին: Եւ հայոց հայրապետն ձեռնա- 25  
դրեսցէ կաթողիկոս Վրաց աշխարհին, որք մերոյն Նունէի աշակեր-  
տեցան: Եւ ուր և լինիցին հայ ազգք սփռեալք յընդհանուր աշխարհս  
ի մէջ այլալեզու քրիստոնէից, իշխանութիւն ունի հայոց պատրիարքն  
ձեռնադրել նոցա կաթողիկոս: Եւս և աշխարհն Աղուանից եղիցին  
ընդ հնազանդութեամբ հայոց հայրապետին, և առաջարկութեամբ աղու- 30  
անից թագաւորին հայրապետն հայոց ձեռնադրեսցէ կաթողիկոս

24 ինքնագլուխք] f. om  $AA_g B_g F_5 N_9 T$  24 եղիցին] omt առնելով C եկեղեցեաց  
+ քրիստոնէիցն եղիցի և  $F_3$  24 յիւրեանց] i. om  $B + \text{h}_{\text{ant}} BbEI$  24 առնելով]  
առնուլ  $B_g$  24 ձեռնադրութիւն] + հրամանաւ և  $bS_1$  omt և հայոց հայրապետն  
C 25 առաջարկութեամբ] հրամանաւ  $B$  i. +  $j F_3$  25 իւրեանց] + հայրապետին  
և  $F_5$  25 իւրեանց թագաւորին] թագաւորին իւրեանց  $A_g$  25 Եւ] իսկ  $F_5$   
25 հայոց հայրապետն] հայրապետն հայոց  $F_5$  25-26 ձեռնադրեսցէ] ձեռնադրէ  
 $A_1 A_g N_2 N_9 T$  ձեռնադրի  $F_3$  26 կաթողիկոս] կաթողիկոս  $A_1 BCFF_5 gIM_2$  f. վ  
m 26 որք] f. om  $A_g F_3$  26 մերոյն] f. om  $BF_3$  մերուն  $CgN_2$  26 Նունէի]  
նունեայ + և մանեայ  $A_g$  նուննէի  $N_9$  26-27 աշակերտեցան] աշակերտացն  
 $F_3$  27 և] om  $EFK_g M_2 m$  27 լինիցին] լիցին  $A_1 A_g CFF_3 F_5$  om  $T$  27 հայ  
ազգք] f. om  $BCyT$  f. u  $E + \text{h}_{\text{ant}} gM_2 m$  27 սփռեալք] f. om  $FF_3 F_5 K_g M_2 my$   
սպռեալք  $T$  27 յընդհանուր] +  $\text{h}_{\text{ant}} AA_1 CF_3 N_2 N_9$  յընթեանուր  $ABegM_2 m N_2 y$   
յընթանուր  $A_1 CIKT$  i. om  $bF_5$  27 աշխարհս] f. om  $AA_1 Ty$  աշխարհաց  $A_g$  f. ք  
 $F_3 N_2 N_9$  28 ի մէջ] om  $A_g$  28 այլալեզու] այլևայլ լեզուաւ  $A_g$  այլ այլեզու  $E$   
28 քրիստոնէից] om  $A_g$  28 ունի] om  $F_3$  28 հայոց պատրիարքն] պատրիարքն  
հայոց  $F_5$  28 պատրիարքն] պատրիարքն  $T$  29 ձեռնադրել] ձեռնատրել  
 $T$  29 կաթողիկոս] եպիսկոպոս  $AF_5 T$  եպիսկոպոսս  $A_1$  կաթողիկոս  $BCgM_2$   
եպիսկոպոսս. կաթողիկոսս  $bS_1$  կաթողիկոսս  $F$  կաթողիկոսս  $I$  29 Եւս]  
om  $ES_1$  29 և] om  $Bb$  առավել  $F_3$  29 աշխարհն] i. +  $j Bb + \text{h}_{\text{ant}}$   
 $BbS_1$  i. +  $q F_5$  29 Աղուանից] աղուանից  $A_1 C$  աղուանից  $bKm$  աղվանից  
 $T$  29 եղիցին] f. om  $BbCS_1$  30 ընդ հնազանդութեամբ] հնազանդութիւն  
 $BbS_1$  ի հնազանդութիւն  $Ely$  30 հնազանդութեամբ] հնազանդութեան  $F_3$   
30 հայոց հայրապետին] հայրապետին հայոց  $Ely$  30 հայրապետին] f. om  
 $C$  30 առաջարկութեամբ] հրամանաւ  $BbS_1$  i. +  $j I$  առաջնորդութեամբ  $K_g$   
առարկութեամբ  $y$  30-31 աղուանից] աղուանից  $BbKm$  աղուանից  $C$  աղվանից  
 $T$  31 հայրապետն հայոց] հայոց հայրապետն  $A_g$  31 ձեռնադրեսցէ] ձեռնադրէ  
 $F_3 N_2 N_9$  31 կաթողիկոս] կաթողիկոս  $BI$  31-32 կաթողիկոս նոցա] նոցա  
կաթողիկոսս  $A_g bCFS_1$  նոցա կաթողիկոս  $F_5$

24 առնիցեն corr առնելով  $m^R T$  26 ունէի + i. և  $w^A I$  27 ազգ +  $3^0 p w^A A$  31 հայց  
+  $3^0 n w^A F_5$

be autocephalous, taking their ordination from their own bishops with the proposition of their king. And the Armenian Patriarch shall ordain the Catholicos for the country of the Georgians who were disciples of our Nunē. And wherever there are Armenians spread around the whole world, among Christians of other languages, the Armenian Patriarch has the right to ordain a Catholicos<sup>121</sup> for them. Also the country of [Caucasian] Albania shall be subject to the Armenian Patriarch and with the proposal of the Albanian King shall the Armenian Patriarch ordain a Catholicos for them.

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<sup>121</sup> From the first glance it may sound strange that the Armenian Catholicos, who should be the only one with that title, is responsible for ordaining other *catholicoi*. However, the author of TD may have wished to propose a way of normalising a situation existing since the eleventh century when there were often more than one Armenian catholicos, each striving to affirm his legitimacy against the others. The author of the text may have wished to accept this *de facto* situation and at the same time to integrate it into a specific hierarchy, according to which only one legitimate heir of St. Gregory had the authority to consecrate the other catholicoi. Some mss propose the variant *episkoposs* (bishops) in this location. However, there is not enough basis to assume that the reading 'bishops' goes back to the archetypus and is not a deliberate correction. The variant 'catholicos' is found in mss of diverse branches and there is no reason to suppose that they are all corrupted. For further reflections and comparison of mss evidence, cfr Chapter 3, pp. 271–272. I have not made an emendation to the base text here.

նոցա: Եւ պատրիարգարանքն երեքին՝ Երուսաղէմ[ի] և Անտիոք[այ] և Աղէքսանդրիայ, յորժամ պատրիարգ ձեռնադրեն, կամաւք և ընտրութեամբ հայոց հայրապետին լինիցի: Եւ որ որ նոր նստցի յաթոռ պատրիարգու-  
 340<sup>o</sup> թեան, գղաւանութիւն | հաւատոյն իւրոյ, զոր պարտ էր մեզ ծանուցանել, 35  
 զայն հայոց հայրապետին ծանուցել՝, զի զնա կարգեցաք մեզ գլխաւորիսն  
 և հրամանահան ի վերայ ամենայն ասիական միջնաշխարհիդ, և յելս արևու  
 մինչև ի դրունս դրախտին, որում և վկայեաց հոգին սուրբ սրբութեան և  
 արժանաւորութեան սրբոյն Գրիգորի:

32 պատրիարգարանքն] f. om A<sub>g</sub>I պատրիարգարան E պատրիարքարանքն  
 F<sub>5</sub> պատրիարքարանք S<sub>1</sub> պատրիարգն T 32 երեքին] երեք C f. + p  
 y 32 Երուսաղէմ[ի]] f. այ A<sub>g</sub> f. + ն Bb երուսաղէմ CFEIN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> y i. + j f. +  
 ն S<sub>1</sub> 32 Անտիոք[այ]] f. om A<sub>1</sub>y անտիոքին BbS<sub>1</sub> անտիոք CFF<sub>5</sub> անտիոք  
 F<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> անտիոքայ T 33 Աղէքսանդրիայ] աղէքսանդրով A<sub>1</sub> աղէկսանդրին  
 BbS<sub>1</sub> աղէքսանդրիայ Cgy աղէքսանդրեայ F<sub>5</sub> աղէկսանդր I աղէկսանդրիա N<sub>2</sub>  
 աղէկսանդրիայ T 33 պատրիարգ] f. p EF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> f. + ն I [...] N<sub>9</sub> 33 կամաւք] f. om  
 AT 33 ընտրութեամբ] ընտրութեամբ ABF<sub>5</sub>gKM<sub>2</sub>m 34 լինիցի] լիցի B<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m  
 եղիցին F<sub>5</sub> լիցին g 34 որ որ ր] որք CEF<sub>5</sub> 34 նստցի] նստի B<sub>g</sub> նստցին C  
 նստին E նստուցանին F<sub>5</sub> 34 յաթոռ] + ի<sub>ant</sub> N<sub>9</sub> 34-35 պատրիարգութեան]  
 պատրիարքութեան F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 35 հաւատոյն] f. om F<sub>5</sub> 35 պարտ էր] պարտեր  
 CN<sub>9</sub> 36 ծանուցել] ծանուցանել y 37 հրամանահան] հրամահան C հրաման  
 հանել y 37 ամենայն] om g 37 ասիական միջնաշխարհիդ] ասիական միջնորդ  
 աշխարհիդ C 37 միջնաշխարհիդ] f. տ om որում և վկայեաց B մէջնաշխարհիդ  
 E f. տ I մէջ աշխարհիդ K միջն[...] N<sub>9</sub> 37 յելս] յելից AA<sub>1</sub>T յելիցն A<sub>g</sub> + ի<sub>ant</sub>  
 B<sub>g</sub>F<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 37 արևու] i. + j F<sub>3</sub> 38 դրունս] դուն F<sub>5</sub> [...] N<sub>9</sub> 38 և] om F<sub>5</sub>  
 39 արժանաւորութեան] [...] 20.1 սուրբ F արժանաւորութեամբ F<sub>3</sub>

32-33 + Ե[րուսաղէ]մ, Անտիոք, Աղէքս[անդրիայ] m<sup>L</sup> M<sub>2</sub> 34 լիցի + 2<sup>0</sup> ին corr  
 լինիցի w<sup>A</sup> AA<sub>1</sub>; + նոր [նստցի] L<sup>A</sup> A

And the three Patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, whenever [they] ordain a Patriarch [they] shall do so according to the will and the choice of the Armenian Patriarch. And whomever is to be newly enthroned on [one of these] Patriarchal chairs, [he] shall present the confession of his faith, which he should have displayed to me, to the Armenian Patriarch, since we appointed him as our representative in all the lands of Interior Asia, and from where the sun rises until the gates of paradise, where the Holy Spirit bore witness to the holiness and worthiness of St. Gregory.



20. Ձի մինչ դեռ կայաք ի խորանին սուրբ և զնուիրական աղաթսն կատարեաք, ահայ յանկարծակի լոյս անճառելի և անընդել ի մարդկանէ էջ յերկնից ի վերայ սրբոյ սեղանոյն և աղեղնանման աղաւթ եալթն կրկին կամար կապեցաւ ի վերայ սրբոյն Գրիգորի, և հիահրաշ փայլմամբ ճառագայթափայլեաց լոյս երեսաց նորա, որպէս զդէմսն Քրիստոսի ի 5 Թափովր: Իսկ մեք ամենեքեան ափշեալք՝ ոչ իշխեաք հայել ի նա, մինչև կատարեաց գտորբ պատարագն, և ի փոքր մի փարատել շամանդաղ ամպոյն, ապա իշխեցաք մատիլ և տալ նմա համբոյր ի սէր սրբութեան ըստ արինացս քրիստոնէից: Ըստ որում, խոնարհեալ Աստուածակարգ կայսրս սուրբ, սպասաւորեալս ի սերովբէից, եկն ահիւ մեծաւ առաջի 10 սուրբ լուսաւորչին և ի ծունկս իջեալ՝ համբուրեաց զբարձս նորա ըստ արինի աւփրանթի: Եւ ապա համարձակեալ՝ համբուրեաց զաջն և զխաչն

20.1 կայաք] կայեաք B կայայք F<sub>3</sub> 1 խորանին] f. om C խորանն E  
1 զնուիրական] + սուրբ I 1 աղաթսն] f. om A աղաթքն B<sub>g</sub> աղոթնս T  
2 կատարեաք] մատուցանեաք γ 2 յանկարծակի] f. om C յանկարծակի g  
2 յանկարծակի լոյս] յանկարծակի լոյս K 2 լոյս] ի լոյս T 2 անճառելի] անճելի F<sub>3</sub>  
2 անընդել] անընկելի m 2 ի մարդկանէ] om h<sub>ant</sub> m ի մարդկեղէն բութենէս  
γ 3 յերկնից] + h<sub>ant</sub> BF<sub>3</sub> i. om S<sub>1</sub> 3 սրբոյ] f. + ն g<sub>g</sub> 3 սեղանոյն] f. u D<sub>g</sub>E  
3 աղեղնանման] աղեղանման ABb 3 աղաւթ] օղեթ F<sub>3</sub> օղիւք F<sub>5</sub> ազոթ K f.  
+ ն S<sub>1</sub> 4 կամար] կամարայ I 4 սրբոյն] f. om AB f. u T 4 Գրիգորի] + և  
սեղանոյս BbS<sub>1</sub> 4 հիահրաշ] արփիահրաշ B<sub>g</sub> արփահրաշ I + h<sub>ant</sub> T 5 լոյս] f. +  
ն F<sub>3</sub> 5 երեսաց] ի յերեսաց F<sub>3</sub> 5 նորա] սրբոյն Գրիգորի D<sub>g</sub> 5 զդէմսն] f. om AT  
6 Թափովր] թափօր AbF<sub>5</sub>mS<sub>1</sub> թաբովր A<sub>1</sub> թափաւր BT թաբօր EF<sub>3</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>y թաբաւր  
FgN<sub>2</sub> թափաւր I 6 մեք] [...] B om FF<sub>5</sub> 6 ամենեքեան] [...] B ամենիքեան C  
6 ափշեալք] ապշեալք AA<sub>1</sub>F<sub>5</sub> f. om A<sub>g</sub>i. + j T + ն γ 6 իշխեաք] յիշխեալք F<sub>3</sub> իշխելն  
F<sub>5</sub> 6 հայել] հայիլ BF<sub>5</sub> 6 մինչև] f. om K 7 կատարեաց] կատարեց C 7 գտորբ]  
[...] B 7 փոքր] om h<sub>ant</sub> AB<sub>g</sub>FF<sub>3</sub>KT 7 փարատել] + h<sub>ant</sub> A փարատեալ AFF<sub>5</sub>γ  
փարատեալն F<sub>3</sub> 7 շամանդաղ] f. + ն F<sub>3</sub> 8 ամպոյն] ամբոյն F<sub>3</sub> 8 իշխեցաք]  
[...] B i. + j F<sub>3</sub>T 8 մատիլ] մօտել F<sub>3</sub> 8 նմա] om A 8 ի] և K 8 սէր] om  
F<sub>5</sub> 9 արինացս] f. om F<sub>5</sub>T 9 քրիստոնէից] [...] էից B f. + u γ 9 որում] + և bS<sub>1</sub>  
9 Աստուածակարգ] աստուածակարգեալ A<sub>g</sub> աստուածարեալ C 10 կայսրս] f.  
om Ay f. ն F<sub>5</sub> 10 սուրբ] om C 10 սպասաւորեալս] f. om A<sub>g</sub>FT սպասեալն F<sub>5</sub>  
10 սերովբէից] սերովբէից AA<sub>1</sub>EIKM<sub>2</sub>my սերովբէից BF սերովբէից bC սիրովբէից F<sub>3</sub>  
սրովբէից F<sub>5</sub>T 10 եկն] երկն F<sub>5</sub> 10 առաջի] i. + j S<sub>1</sub> 11 լուսաւորչին] f. u bEIS<sub>1</sub>γ  
om և C 11 ծունկս] f. om K<sub>g</sub> ծունկս N<sub>2</sub> 11 համբուրեաց] համբուրեալ B omt  
զաջն F<sub>5</sub> 11 զբարձս] f. p E 11 նորա] i. u B<sub>g</sub> + իբրն ի նոյն ինքն ի Քրիստոս  
միանալով γ 12 արինի] արինաւ Cy f. om E 12 աւփրանթի] օփրանթի AF<sub>3</sub>  
աւփրանդի B<sub>g2</sub> ֆանթի C օփրանթի F օփրանթի gK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m օփրանտի T ֆրանտի γ  
12 համարձակեալ] համարձագեալ F<sub>3</sub> 12 զաջն] f. u BbEIS<sub>1</sub> 12 զխաչն] f. om I

6–9 several words are illegible because of a stain B 7 շամանդաղ + 8<sup>0</sup> ն w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub>  
12 օփրանթի + 3<sup>0</sup> ա w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub>

20. Because while we were still at the Holy altar and performing the eucharistic prayers, suddenly an indescribable light, unseen by humans, descended from the heavens to the Holy table and with bow-like [appearance of] air formed seven double-arches above St. Gregory and the light on his face shone with marvellously gleaming rays as the face of Christ on Mt. Tabor.<sup>122</sup> And we all were astounded and did not dare to look at him until the Holy Eucharist ended. Then, as the fog of the cloud dispersed a little, we dared to approach him and give him the kiss of love of Holiness, according to Christian law. And the God-ordained saintly Emperor, whom the seraphs themselves serve, came bowing with great awe to the Holy Illuminator and, kneeling down, kissed his cushion according to the custom of an *offrand*.<sup>123</sup> Then, taking courage he kissed his right hand, the

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<sup>122</sup> The author could be inspired both by a similar passage in the *Life of Nersēs* or the Transfiguration of Christ, traditionally told to have taken place on Mt. Tabor. For further reflections and sources, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 105–106.

<sup>123</sup> The Armenian text uses this Old French loan word which I have preserved in the translation.

340<sup>v</sup> և ապա | զդէմսն՝ իբրև ի նոյն ինքն ի Քրիստոս միանալով համբուրիւ  
 շրթանցն: Ապայ ասէ կայսրն սեբաստոս. «Ո՛վ երանելիդ ի հարս, սուրբ  
 հայրապետ, որ անքուն և անհանգիստ կալովդ քո նմանիս զուարթնոց 15  
 երկնից և անկերակուր կալովդ՝ գերիվերոյ գտանիս ամենայն գիտական  
 վարդապետաց: Արդ, աղաչեմք զքեզ սիւնդ անսասանելի ամենայն աշ-  
 խարհի, ուսո՛յ մեզ զհաւատոյս մեր զդաւանութիւն և աղաթեալ վասն  
 ամենայն աշխարհի, ևս առաւել վասն մերոյ թագաւորութեանս, զի խաղա-  
 դութեամբ և հանդարտութեամբ վարեացուք զտիեզերական իշխանութիւնս 20  
 և այսու կենալքս՝ վերին կենացն և երկնից արքայութեան արժանաւո-  
 րեացուք»: Նմին նման և Տրդատ կայսերակերպ, և ամենայն թագաւորքն,  
 և իշխանքն, և եկեղեցականք, և արքունականք, հայք և հռոմայեցիք,  
 անկանէին առ ոտս սրբոյն Գրիգորի և խնդրէին թողութիւն մեղաց իւրեանց  
 և զաւգնութիւն ի պատերազմի: 25

13 ապա] om F<sub>5</sub> 13 ի] om F<sub>5</sub> 13 ի նոյն ինքն] om γ 13 ինքն] om A 13 ի]  
 om F<sub>5</sub> 13 միանալով] մերձանալով γ 14 շրթանցն] f. om AA<sub>8</sub>F<sub>5</sub>I 14 Ապայ]  
 և ապա A<sub>1</sub>bK 14 կայսրն] f. om FF<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 14 սեբաստոս] կոստանդիանոս  
 AA<sub>1</sub>T կոստանդիանոս և սեղբեսորոս A<sub>8</sub> + և սեղբեսորոս B<sub>82</sub> կայսրն հանդերձ  
 սեղբեսորոսի F<sub>5</sub> + և սեղբեսորոսն I + և էս, սեղբեսորոս γ 14 հարս]  
 հայրս BbCEF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>IS<sub>7</sub>γ + սուրբ հայրապետաց F<sub>3</sub> 15 որ] + և B<sub>8</sub> 15 կալովդ]  
 f. om A<sub>8</sub> 15 նմանիս] նմանէս A<sub>8</sub>bS<sub>1</sub> 15 զուարթնոց] զուարդնոց C f. om  
 I 16 երկնից] երկնից B 16 կալովդ] + քո A<sub>8</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 16 գիտական] գիտնական  
 AA<sub>8</sub>CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>T իմաստուն B<sub>82</sub> 16-17 գիտական վարդապետաց] հրեշտակաց γ  
 17 վարդապետաց] f. + և C 17 Արդ] om A<sub>1</sub>E 17 աղաչեմք] f. om EF<sub>3</sub>IKy [...] 17  
 աշխարհի om ևս առավել F 17 զքեզ] om F<sub>5</sub> 17-18 աշխարհի] + խնդրոյ om  
 վասն մերոյ F<sub>5</sub> 18 մեզ] + և A<sub>8</sub> 18 զհաւատոյս] i. om I f. om S<sub>7</sub>γ 18 մեր]  
 մերոյ A<sub>8</sub>EF<sub>3</sub>γ om B 18 զդաւանութիւն] i. om A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>8</sub>CN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T 18 աղաթեալ]  
 աղաթից E 19 ամենայն] i. + j E om g 19 աշխարհի] f. + u g 19 մերոյ] մեր B<sub>82</sub>  
 19 թագաւորութեանս] f. om K<sub>8</sub> 20 հանդարտութեամբ] հանտարտութեամբ C  
 20 վարեացուք] + զկեանս մեր. ևս առաւել γ 21 և] om երկնից արքայութեան  
 F<sub>5</sub> 21 երկնից] երկնային B + սուրբ bS<sub>1</sub> 21 արքայութեան] կենացն B f. + և C  
 21-22 արժանաւորեացուք] արժանացուք B արժանաւոր [իցուք F<sub>5</sub> 22 Նմին] i.  
 u g mS<sub>7</sub>γ i. om M<sub>2</sub> 22 և] om A<sub>8</sub>C 22 Տրդատ] f. + և AA<sub>1</sub>T 22 կայսերակերպ] f. +  
 և γ 22 թագաւորքն] եկեղեցականքն C f. om T 23 իշխանքն] om հայք F<sub>5</sub> f. om T  
 23 եկեղեցականք] f. + և AB<sub>8</sub>gK<sub>8</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 23 և արքունականք] f. + և AbEg<sub>8</sub>IK<sub>8</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub>  
 om BT f. om CF<sub>3</sub> 23 հռոմայեցիք] հռովմայեցիք BbgM<sub>2</sub>m f. + և K 24 անկանէին]  
 անգանէին AA<sub>1</sub>BgM<sub>2</sub> 24 և] om F<sub>3</sub> 24 թողութիւն] i. + q B<sub>8</sub>F<sub>3</sub>gK<sub>8</sub> 24 իւրեանց] om  
 B<sub>8</sub> 25 զաւգնութիւն] զաւգութիւն B i. om K<sub>8</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m f. + ի N<sub>9</sub> 25 պատերազմի] om  
 h<sub>ant</sub> g

23 և եկեղեցականք + mg<sup>U</sup> N<sub>2</sub> 24 անգանէին 3<sup>0</sup> q corr կ w<sup>A</sup> A

cross and [Gregory's] face, as if uniting with Christ himself with the kiss of lips. Then the Holy Emperor said, 'Oh blessed one among Fathers,<sup>124</sup> Holy Patriarch, that with your sleepless and restless behaviour resemble the watchers of the heavens and with [ceaseless] fasting are beyond all wise *vardapets*! We beg you, oh unwavering pillar of the whole world, teach us the confession of our faith and pray for the entire world and especially for our Kingdom, so that we may lead our universal dominion in peace and serenity and through such behaviour merit the higher life and the Kingdom of Heaven!'<sup>125</sup> And in the same manner, the emperor-like Trdat and all the kings and princes, clerics and men from the royal court, Armenians and Romans, all fell to the feet of St. Gregory and pleaded absolution from their sins and support in war.

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<sup>124</sup> In Armenian the expression 'h huppu' in loc. case is problematic in this context, meaning lit. 'in the fathers'. I have translated it as 'among the Fathers' according to the overall sense of the phrase.

<sup>125</sup> In this statement the author of TD intended to guarantee the orthodoxy of the Armenian faith by making Constantine declare it in his entire Empire, similar to Section 5.

21. Վասն որոյ և ես՝ Մեղբեսորոս, որ ականատես եղէ այսպիսի զարմանալեացս, որով պատուեաց Աստուած զպարթնն զայն մեծ, մեծարեցի և ես զնա ըստ իմում կարի, տալով նմա զվականս իմ պատուական, որ էր լեալ սրբոյն Յակովբայ տեառն եղբարն, առաջին եպիսկոպոսի 341<sup>r</sup> Երուսաղէմի, | նաև զամենայն զարդս հայրապետական անձին իմոյ ի ժամ 5 ձեռնադրութեան, և զմատանին իմ խաչաձև, և զգաւագանն իմ գեղեցիկ ի գեղաղէշ ականց և ի մաքուր մարգարտաց յարինեալ, և զամենայն սպասք պատարագի սրբոյ սեղանոյս՝ զոսկեղէն և զսկիս և զմաղզմայս ի միափերթ ականց տպագիտնաց բազմակշռաց, և զմիթրն իմ սատակ և սպիտակ, որ էր փակեղն Յիսուսի, նաև զբժշկաբաշխ ձեռնս բազկաւքն 10 հանդերձ երկոցունց առաքելոցս՝ Պետրոսի և Պաւլոսի, (և զահեակ ձեռն Անդրէի առաքելոյն): Եւ լուսատու ակունս պայծառս և պատուական

21.1 Մեղբեսորոս] f. + u S<sub>1</sub> Մեղբեսորոս T 1-2 զարմանալեացս] զարմանելացս B զարմանալացս T 2 պատուեաց] պատուաց B 2 մեծ] om B 3 և] om F<sub>5</sub> 3 իմում] f. + u b 3 տալով նմա] om FF<sub>5</sub> 3 զվականս] զվականս m 4 Յակովբայ] յակովբայ F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 4 առաջին] f. om EKM<sub>2</sub>mS<sub>1</sub> 4 եպիսկոպոսի] f. + ն B<sub>8</sub>CFK [...] N<sub>9</sub> 5 զարդս] f. om F<sub>5</sub> 5 զարդս հայրապետական] հայրապետական զարդս E 5 հայրապետական] հայրապետութեան A<sub>8</sub> 5 ի ժամ] om B<sub>8</sub> 6 զմատանին] զմատանիմ M<sub>2</sub> 6 խաչաձև] խաչանման S<sub>1</sub> 6 զգաւագանն] f. om T 7 գեղաղէշ] գեղաղէղ BF<sub>5</sub> գեղագեղ bS<sub>1</sub> գեղ աղեղականց E 7 ականց] ականաց g i. + j S<sub>1</sub> 7 մարգարտաց] մագարտաց E մարքարտաց F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> 8 սպասք] f. om A<sub>8</sub>CF<sub>5</sub> 8 պատարագի] f. + u y 8 սեղանոյս] f. ն CF սեղանիս y 8 զոսկեղէն] + և զարծաթեղէն. զսկիս C f. + u E 8 և] om AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>8</sub>FT 8 զսկիս] զսկիիս Ay զսկիի A<sub>8</sub> i. ը E i. om F զսկիին F<sub>3</sub> 8 զմաղզմայս] զմաղզմանս B զմաղզմայս b զմաղզման F<sub>5</sub> զմաղզմաս I 9 ի] om F<sub>5</sub> 9 միափերթ ականց] միափերթականց F<sub>3</sub> 9 ականց] i. + j S<sub>1</sub> 9 տպագիտնաց] + [...] y 9 բազմակշռաց] միափերթաց F om F<sub>5</sub> 9 զմիթրն] [...] երկուց F զմեւ F<sub>3</sub> 9 իմ] om F<sub>3</sub> 9 սատակ] հստակ F<sub>5</sub> 9-10 սատակ և սպիտակ] սպիտակ B<sub>8</sub>F<sub>3</sub> պատուական y 10 էր] f. om B<sub>8</sub>C om K<sub>8</sub> 10 փակեղն] փազեղն I 10 Յիսուսի] + փրկչին մերոյ A<sub>1</sub> om F<sub>3</sub> Քրիստոսի F<sub>5</sub> 10 ձեռնս] ձեռնն C ձեռք F<sub>5</sub> ձեռն T 10 բազկաւքն] f. om M<sub>2</sub>m 11 երկոցունց] երկու BbEIy երկուց CFF<sub>5</sub> p. S<sub>1</sub> 11 առաքելոցս] f. ն CFF<sub>5</sub>F<sub>5</sub>y առաքելոյս g 11 Պաւլոսի] + առաքելոցն F 11-12 և զահեակ ձեռն Անդրէի առաքելոյն] om AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>F<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T 11 ձեռն] ձեռնս C ձեռս F 12 առաքելոյն] om CFF<sub>5</sub> 12 լուսատու] լուսաւոր F<sub>3</sub> 12 ակունս] i. + j S<sub>1</sub> 12 պայծառս և պատուական] պատուականս պայծառս I 12 պատուական] om FF<sub>5</sub>

6 մատանին + i. q w<sup>A</sup> I; զմատան + 6<sup>o</sup> ին with a different hand m<sup>L</sup> m 8 զսկիս + 4<sup>o</sup> h w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>5</sub>

21. Because of this, I, Sylvester, having witnessed such great wonders with which the Lord honoured the Great Parthian, also exalted him according to my capacity, by giving him my venerable *orarium*, which was that of St. James, brother of the Lord, the first bishop of Jerusalem,<sup>126</sup> and all Patriarchal adornments which I wear during ordination: my cross-shaped ring, and the beautiful staff adorned with marvellous stones and pure pearls, and all the furnishings for the Holy table of the Eucharist: golden chalices and plates with one-piece, weighty topazolite gems and my *mitre* of pure white colour, that was Jesus' veil,<sup>127</sup> and the hands and arms of the two apostles Peter and Paul that dispense cures, as well as the left hand of Apostle Andrew,<sup>128</sup> and luminous, bright gems and precious gem-stone pearls, and other numerous priceless adornments

<sup>126</sup> Cfr Combefis 1690, 266 and Chapter 2, p. 108 for discussion.

<sup>127</sup> For the discussion of these liturgical and honourable insignia cfr Chapter 2, pp. 107–109. For the significance of presenting one's own personal clothing or objects of power when transferring authority, cfr Cutler 2005. The various liturgical objects and vestments given to St. Gregory are reminiscent of Vg § 189, p. 113.

<sup>128</sup> That these relics were given by the Pope to Gregory upon his visit to Rome is found also in Uxtanēs 1871, 108. Similar information can be read in the *Document on Borders*, cfr Alishan 1901, 98. Here, however, Gregory and Trdat receive 'the left arms of Peter and Paul and the right hand of Apostle Andrew, along with other numerous relics'. Not all mss mention the 'left arm of Apostle Andrew'. For discussion and the reconstruction of the text, cfr Chapter 3, pp. 239–240.

մարգարիտս ջուհարականս, և այլ բազում զարդս անգինս և անգիտս  
ամենայն աշխարհաց, զոր առաքեցի սուրբ խորանացն, որք ի Խորին Հայս  
են, յորում էջ յայտնապէս միածին որդին Աստուծոյ և ոսկի [ուռամբ] 15  
բախեաց զսանդարամ[ե]տս անդնորդ: Նաև սրբութեան սենեկին սանուն  
խմոյ՝ սրբոյն Հռիփսիմէ, և մարն զգաստութեանց Գայիանեայ, և ամենայն  
ջահագգեստ կուսանացն տամուծել արիորդացն, դստերացն Հռոմայեցոց  
և մարցն հայոց և վրաց, պայծառ և պանծալի պատրաստութիւն պարգևեցի  
պաշտօնաց կուսաստանի նոցա՝ ըստ արժանի սրբութեան նոցա: Նաև 20  
վկայարանի սրբոյ Կարապետին Յովհաննու և Աթանագինէի առաքեցի  
341<sup>v</sup> ոսկի | ծածկոց ծալովի, և ապարաւ2 սրբոյ սեղանոյն, և բազում սպասք

13 ջուհարականս] ճուհարականս AT om A<sub>1</sub> ճոհարակունս B ճոհարականս  
bIS<sub>1</sub> ճովհարականս E ջոհարակունս Fg<sub>g</sub>KM<sub>2</sub>m պայծառականս ջուհար y  
13 անգինս] f. om BbES<sub>1</sub> 13 անգիտս] անգիտս T f. om γ 14 զոր] f. + u F<sub>3</sub>  
14 առաքեցի] առաքեաց CF<sub>5</sub> + ի CT 14 խորանացն] f. om F<sub>3</sub>γ 14 որք] f. om B<sub>g</sub>g<sub>g</sub>  
om M<sub>2</sub>m 14 Խորին] խորան F<sub>5</sub> 15 յորում] յոր A<sub>g</sub> i. om T 15 ուռամբ] f. + ն F<sub>3</sub>γ  
ուռամբ N<sub>2</sub> 16 բախեաց] բաղխեաց A<sub>1</sub> 16 զսանդարամ[ե]տս] զսանդարմեաս  
B ի սանդարմետս F<sub>5</sub> զսանդարամետս N<sub>2</sub> զսանդարմետս T 16 անդնորդ] i.  
+ j S<sub>1</sub> 16 Նաև] նաւ և A 16 սանուն] սանոյն BbEIS<sub>1</sub> սանին CFy սենեկինս  
անուն F<sub>3</sub> տան F<sub>5</sub> 17 սրբոյն] սրբուն B om K 17 Հռիփսիմէ] f. + ա A  
հռէփսիմէ b հռէփսիմէ E f. + ի F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub>Ty f. + այ gK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 17 և մարն զգաստութեանց  
Գայիանեայ] om B<sub>g</sub> 17 մարն] f. om K<sub>g</sub> 17 զգաստութեանց] i. u CFg<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m i.  
u + սրբոյն F զգաստութեան F<sub>3</sub> f. om g<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 17 Գայիանեայ] գայիանէ C  
գայիանայ F<sub>3</sub> 18 ջահագգեստ] ջահասգեստ Bg<sub>g</sub>K<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> ջահագգեստ F<sub>3</sub>  
ջահասգեստ γ 18 կուսանացն] f. om γ 18 տամուծել] տամուծեղ C տամուծել  
E տամտանել F<sub>3</sub> տամոծտել F<sub>5</sub> տամ օծիտս γ 18 արիորդացն] որիորդոցն C  
որիորդացն F + ն S<sub>1</sub> 18 դստերացն] դստեր C f. om γ 18 Հռոմայեցոց] հռոմոց  
AbT հռոմայեցոց A<sub>1</sub> հռովմոց B հռովմայեցոց Cm հռոմոց EIN<sub>9</sub>γ հռովմոց F<sub>3</sub>  
հռովմայեցոց gKM<sub>2</sub> հռովմոց N<sub>2</sub> հռովմայեցոց S<sub>1</sub> 19 մարցն] մայրցն B մարացն  
γ 19–20 պատրաստութիւն պարգևեցի պաշտօնաց] պատրաստութեամբ  
պաշտօնաց A<sub>g</sub> 20 պաշտօնաց] պաշտօնաց B<sub>g</sub> om F<sub>5</sub> պաշտօնացն I  
պաշտօնաց T 20 արժանի] [...] նաև B f. om I 20 սրբութեան] f. + g  
CF<sub>3</sub>K<sub>g</sub> 21 վկայարանի] om A<sub>g</sub> i. + q C 21 սրբոյ] f. + ն F<sub>3</sub> 21 Յովհաննու]  
յովաննու AbCEFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>gIKM<sub>2</sub>mTy յոհաննու A<sub>1</sub> հովհաննու B om և C յովանու  
N<sub>9</sub> 21 Աթանագինէի] աթագինէի A f. om A<sub>g</sub>A<sub>1</sub>CFE<sub>3</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T + հայրապետին A<sub>g</sub>  
22 ծալովի] om F<sub>5</sub> 22 ապարաւ2] ապրո2 S 22 և] [...] ի պէտս B + այլ bCEFF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub>γ  
omt և եղբարցն I

14 + որ m<sup>L</sup> K; հայց corr հայս C 17 զգաստութեան + 1<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub> 19–20 + կամ  
թէ հռոմայեցոց with a different hand և մարցն հայոց with the same hand mg<sup>R</sup> A  
21 կայարանի + i. վ w<sup>A</sup> F<sub>3</sub> 22 սպար + 3<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> g; + բազմապատիկ but ras F<sub>5</sub>

rarely found in the whole world, which I sent to the holy altars which are in Inner Armenia, where the Only Begotten Son of God descended, as is known, and with a golden cane struck the depths of hell.<sup>129</sup> Also for the Holy Chamber of my disciple St. Hrip'simē<sup>130</sup> and the mother of chastity Gayanē<sup>131</sup> and of all the other [holy] Virgins, bearers of light, noble dames, daughters of Romans and mothers of Armenians and Georgians, I donated splendid and magnificent presents for the *niches* of their convent, worthy of their sanctity. And for the martyrion of the Holy Precursor John and At'anaginēs,<sup>132</sup> I sent a golden, foldable covering and a cloth for the holy altar, and many other furnishings for

<sup>129</sup> Aa §735, Gregory has an 'awesome vision of a man' who comes with a big golden cane (Thomson, *Agathangelos*, 277 translates this as a 'golden hammer') and strikes the earth which produces a great rumbling that sounds all the way to the 'depths of hell'. The verbal parallels with Aa are evident. For the use of the word *sandaramet*, which I translated as 'depths of hell' following Thomson in AaE 1976, 277, see *ibid*, 479.

<sup>130</sup> To my knowledge TD is the only source that calls Hrip'simē a disciple of Sylvester. The purpose is, again, to reinforce the close relationship between the Armenian Church and that of Rome.

<sup>131</sup> Gayanē is called so in MX 1865, 311. It is interesting to note that the title 'mother of all chastity' is applied to Goddess Anahit in Aa §53, cited also in Russell 1987, 212.

<sup>132</sup> According to Aa §810 Gregory the Illuminator brings the relics of the Precursor and the Martyr At'anaginēs on his way back from Caesarea where he was ordained and builds *martyria* to keep these relics near the river Euphrates. There the Monastery of the Holy Precursor in Tarōn, one of the most celebrated pilgrimage sites in Medieval Armenia, was constructed. Other historians also mention the relics of these saints in Armenia, e.g. MX 1913, 3.2; PB 1987, 3.3, and YM 1941, 80.



ի պէտս եկեղեցոյն և եղբարցն: Որոց միաբանեալ՝ մեք, կայսրս և հայրապետս, մասնաւորեցաք ի սեղանն ի տարին երկուս տաղանդս ոսկոյ ի հարկացն Միջագետաց: Նա ևս առաւել առաքեցաք ընծայս բազումս 25 ընծանեաց սուրբ Աստուածածնին և Վարագայ վերնակրան եղբարցն և սուրբ հարն Ղևոնդ[ե]այ: Նաև ամենայն եպիսկոպոսացն և քահանայիցն և կրանաւորացն և կղերիկոսացն եկեղեցոյ, որք եկեալ էին զհետ Լուսաւորչին հայոց, ետու տուրս մեծամեծս և պատրաստեցի զամենայն պիտոյս նոցա ընդ ծով և ընդ ցամաք ճանապարհին, որ յարևելս. նաւս նորս արքունականս 30 և դիոսկորանշանս, և հրոսակս պատրաստականս մինչև ի սահմանն հայոց:

22. Պարզեցի և նորապսակ պարթևիս մերոյ յիշատակ յախտնական ազգաց յազգս յԵրուսաղէմ քաղաքի իջևանք հայոց աղաւթականացն. զվկայարան սրբոյն Յակոբայ՝ զեղբարն Յովհաննու, զի յարքունական

23 եկեղեցոյն] f. + ն C եկեղեցեացն F<sub>5</sub> եկեղեցուն S<sub>1</sub> 23 Որոց] f. վ A<sub>g</sub> [...] N<sub>9</sub> 23 միաբանեալ] + և BEly f. + p D<sub>g</sub> 23 մեք] + և A<sub>1</sub>bS<sub>1</sub> 23 կայսրս] f. om CF 24 մասնաւորեցաք] մասն առաքեցաք A<sub>g</sub> 24 սեղանն] + հայոց D<sub>g</sub> f. om γ 24 տարին] f. + ն m 24 երկուս] f. om CFF<sub>5</sub>T 24 տաղանդս] f. om EI տաղանտ F<sub>5</sub>γ դաղանդս T 24 ոսկոյ] ոսկի BEF<sub>5</sub>ly 25 Միջագետաց] f. + ն CI + տացեն վանորէիցն D<sub>g</sub> 25 Նա] նաև A<sub>g</sub> 25 առաքեցաք] ընծայեցաք A<sub>g</sub> առաք N<sub>2</sub> 25 ընծայս] ընծայս gl 26 ընծանեաց] ընծանեաց AgM<sub>2</sub>γ ընծանաց F<sub>3</sub> ընծանաց m ընծայեաց S<sub>1</sub> 26 սուրբ] om B<sub>g</sub>CF 26 Վարագայ] վարաքս F<sub>5</sub> f. g I 26 վերնակրան] + սուրբ A<sub>g</sub> կրանաւորացն + և D<sub>g</sub> 26 եղբարցն] եղբայրցն K 27 Ղևոնդ[ե]այ] ղևոնդիայ gKM<sub>2</sub>m ղևոնդս N<sub>2</sub> ղևոնդէ γ 27 եպիսկոպոսացն] f. om F<sub>5</sub> 27 քահանայիցն] f. om AF<sub>5</sub>T 28 կրանաւորացն] f. om BbEIF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub>T 28 կղերիկոսացն] f. om g<sub>g</sub>KF<sub>5</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m կղերացն γ 28 եկեղեցոյ] f. + ն T 28 էին են E 28-29 Լուսաւորչին] f. u F<sub>3</sub>γ 29 ետու] տուաք D<sub>g</sub> om F<sub>3</sub> 29 տուրս] + նոցա E 29 ն] om CFF<sub>5</sub> ditt E 29 պատրաստեցի] + և C 29 պիտոյս] պէտս C զօրս և զպէտս γ 30 ցամաք] omt նաւս նորս E + ամենայն K 30 որ] + ընդ A 30 յարևելս] i. om AS<sub>1</sub> յարևելս C f. p γ 30 նորս] f. om C f. ա I 31 դիոսկորանշանս] omt մինչև C դիոսկորանշանս F<sub>3</sub> դիոսկորանշանս g<sub>g</sub>KM<sub>2</sub>m դիոս կորս նշանս N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 31 ն] om F<sub>5</sub> 31 հրոսակս] հրսուկս S<sub>1</sub> 31 պատրաստականս] f. om N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 31 մինչև] f. om CgKM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 31 սահմանն] f. u AA<sub>g</sub>B<sub>g</sub>CFF<sub>5</sub>T 22.1 Պարզեցի] կարգեցի γ 1 ն] om A<sub>g</sub> 1 մերոյ] ditt γ 2 ազգաց] i. + j FF<sub>5</sub> ազգ γ 2 յազգս] i. om EF + և γ 2 յԵրուսաղէմ] + h<sub>ant</sub> AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>CFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T i. om I 2 քաղաքի] f. om A<sub>g</sub> om γ 2 իջևանք] f. om D<sub>g</sub>I f. u E իջալանք F իջելանք F<sub>3</sub> իջաւան γ 2 աղաւթականացն] f. om CS<sub>1</sub>γ 3 զվկայարան] i. om E f. + ն T 3 Յակոբայ] յակովբայ BgIM<sub>2</sub>m 3 զեղբարն] i. om EC եղբարն T 3 Յովհաննու] յոհաննու AA<sub>1</sub>bCEFF<sub>3</sub>F<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub>Tγ + աստուածաբան աւետարանչի[f. + ն K<sub>g</sub>] A<sub>g</sub> յոհաննու B i. + q I 3 յարքունական] + h<sub>ant</sub> AA<sub>1</sub>CFF<sub>3</sub>IN<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub>T i. om Ey

23 կայրս + 3<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> E 31 պատրական + 4<sup>0</sup> աստ w<sup>A</sup> N<sub>2</sub> 31 սահման + 6<sup>0</sup> u w<sup>A</sup> B

the needs of the church and the brothers. Along with these, we, the Emperor and the Patriarch, gave a share of two talents of gold from taxes of Mesopotamia each year for [the needs of] their table. Moreover, we sent multiple presents to those who have consecrated themselves to the Mother of God, and the religious brethren of Varag and to the Holy Father Levond.<sup>133</sup> And to all the bishops and priests and monks and clerics of the church who had come with the Illuminator of the Armenians, I gave great gifts and prepared everything necessary for their voyage through the sea and land towards the East: new royal ships with signs of *dioskuroi*<sup>134</sup> and an armed contingent [to escort them] up to the borders of Armenia.

22. I also donated to our newly crowned Parthian, in eternal memory from nations to nations, lodging places in the city of Jerusalem<sup>135</sup> for Armenian pilgrims: the martyrion of St. James the brother of John, so that

<sup>133</sup> I have not been able to identify Levond who seems to be related to the monastery of Varag. Perhaps there is a confusion with Bishop Leontius of Caesarea who ordained St. Gregory. On the monastery of Varag cfr Thierry 1989, 132–136. It is not clear whether those ‘consecrated themselves to the Mother of God’ are a different religious institution than the ‘religious brethren of Varag’. One of the structures within the complex of Varagavank’ is a church dedicated to the Mother of God (Ibid, 139–141) whose foundation may date as far back as the 7th century. Perhaps this is what the author of TD had in mind when mentioning the brethren who dedicated themselves to the Mother of God. Another Church dedicated to the Mother of God was part of the complex of the monastery of Upper Varag, an hour walk up the mountain from the lower convent.

<sup>134</sup> The word used in TD is a composite made up of Gr. Διόσκουροι and Armenian *nšan*—sign. It is found in the Acts of Apostles 28.11, not exactly in this form, but as two separate words, describing the ship by which St. Paul sailed to Syracuse. In the Armenian Bible it is described as նշանաւորաւ Դիոսկուրացւոց. This source was independently indicated by myself (cfr Pogossian 2004B) and by Bartikian 2004, 103. Bartikian believes that a twelfth (or thirteenth) century author could not have known that the signs of *dioskuroi* were placed on ships for protection in the pre-Christian period, but that it would be more natural for him to think of St. Nicholas of Myra (whose relics were by then in Bari) as the protector of sailors. Thus, this word, according to Bartikian, proves once more that TD has a fourth century original core. However, the author of TD may have simply used this word based on what he read in the Bible. Moreover, I am not aware of any study on the use (or absence thereof) of these symbols on Byzantine ships in general and in the twelfth century, in particular. Further research may shed more light on this issue.

<sup>135</sup> The privileges in Jerusalem and their sources are discussed in detail in Chapter 2, pp. 109–112.

զանձուցն շինեսցեն եկեղեցիս և ածցեն պարիսպ բարձր շուրջանակի և  
 ի ներքս սրահս և սենեակս առանձնականս արանց և կանանց ի հայոց 5  
 342<sup>r</sup> եկելոցն: Եւ ռոճիկք նոցա և | ամենայն պիտոյք ի կալ և ի գնալն յարքունուստ  
 լիցի: Պատրաստեցի և տեղի պատարագի սրբոյն Գրիգորի ի Յարութեան  
 մեծի եկեղեցւոջն, և ի Գողգոթայ խաչելութեան, և զսնարից կուպայն և  
 զմիջի կանթեղն մշտավառ. որ կան երեք կանթեղք ի վերայ գերեզմանին  
 Քրիստոսի յիշատակ լատինացոց և հայոց և հելլենացոց: 10

23. Գրեցի և հրովարտակս ընդհանրականս առ աւետարանչաց աթոռակալ  
 պատրիարքունս, որ յարևելս, զի զհայոց հայրապետն համապատիւ տեսցեն

4 զանձուցն] f. om A<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> 4 եկեղեցիս] f. om AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>B<sub>g</sub>CF i. + q F<sub>3</sub> 4 և] om C 4 ածցեն]  
 ածեն C 4 բարձր] om B<sub>g</sub>CFF<sub>5</sub> 5 ներքս] ներքուստ F<sub>5</sub> 5 սենեակս] սենակս B  
 սենեկս C սեղեանակս E + ի<sub>ant</sub> F<sub>3</sub> սենակս I 5 կանանց] կանաց C 5 ի] om B  
 6 եկելոցն] եկեղեցւոյն F<sub>5</sub> f. om γ 6 ռոճիկք] կերակուր B<sub>g</sub> ռոճիք F<sub>5</sub>N<sub>9</sub> ռոջիկ T  
 6 պիտոյք] պիտոյիւք E f. + ն I f. q S<sub>1</sub> պէտքն γ 6 կալ] f. + ն A<sub>g</sub> i. q B<sub>g</sub>CF<sub>3</sub> f. om  
 EI 6 գնալն] f. om F<sub>5</sub> 6 յարքունուստ] յարուստ B յարգունուստ C 7 լիցի] f. +  
 ն b + նոցա γ 7 Պատրաստեցի] պարգևեցի B պատրաստեսցեն E 7 տեղի] i. +  
 q CFS<sub>1</sub>γ 7 պատարագի] f. ն m 7 սրբոյն Գրիգորի] om B<sub>g</sub> 7 Յարութեան] om  
 ի<sub>ant</sub> BF<sub>5</sub>S<sub>1</sub> հարութիւն F i. + q F<sub>5</sub> 8 մեծի] f. om F<sub>5</sub> 8 և ի Գողգոթայ] զԳողգոթայ  
 AA<sub>g</sub>T Գողգոթայ A<sub>1</sub>FF<sub>5</sub> 8 խաչելութեան] զխաչելութիւն AA<sub>1</sub>BT + տեղին A<sub>g</sub>T  
 i. + q bS<sub>1</sub> խաչելութիւն F<sub>5</sub> 8 զսնարից] զանարից I 8 կուպայն] կոբայն A<sub>1</sub> +  
 գերեզմանին] f. om m] քրիստոսի A<sub>g</sub> կուբայն F<sub>3</sub> զոռպայն F<sub>5</sub> կուպայի g<sub>g</sub>KM<sub>2</sub>m  
 դուպայն T 9 կանթեղն] f. om omt ի վերայ C կանդեղն E 9 մշտավառ]  
 մշտվառ B միշտավառ F 9 որ] ուր F<sub>3</sub> 9 որ կան երեք կանթեղք] որ գ.  
 կանթեղք են B<sub>g</sub> 10 Քրիստոսի] + ի A om Ey 10 լատինացոց] լադինացոցս  
 B լատինացոցս bS<sub>1</sub> լատինացոց CF լաթինացոց E լատինացուց F<sub>5</sub> դատինացոց  
 gM<sub>2</sub>mN<sub>2</sub> լադինացոց I լատենացոց K 10 և] om A<sub>g</sub> 10 հելլենացոց] հելենացոց  
 B հելլենացոց bS<sub>1</sub> հելլենացոց EN<sub>2</sub> հելլենացոց F հոռոմոց F<sub>5</sub> հելլենացոց KM<sub>2</sub>m  
 om և հելլենացոց γ 23.1 Գրեցի] գրե գիր F<sub>5</sub> 1 հրովարտակս] հորվարտագս  
 C հրովարտաքս F<sub>3</sub> I f. om S<sub>1</sub> 1 ընդհանրական] ընթհանրականս ABbgKM<sub>2</sub>my  
 ընթհանրականս C 1 առ] om m 1 աւետարանչաց] f. + ն A<sub>g</sub>bIS<sub>1</sub>T 1 աթոռակալ]  
 աթոռակալաց B<sub>g</sub> 2 պատրիարքունս] պատրիարգացն E [...] 23.3 մանաւանդ F  
 պատրիարքունս F<sub>5</sub> f. + ն M<sub>2</sub>m 2 որ] om γ 2 զի] om B 2 զհայոց] i. om g 2 զհայոց  
 հայրապետն] զհայրապետն հայոց F<sub>5</sub> 2 հայրապետն] i. + q C հայրապետսն S<sub>1</sub>  
 2-3 տեսցեն իւրեանց] ինքեանց տեսցեն omt զի յերկոտասան A<sub>g</sub>

5 սենակս + 3<sup>0</sup> և with a different hand w<sup>A</sup> B 6 կալ 3<sup>0</sup> կ corr q w<sup>A</sup> C 6 յարուստ + 3<sup>0</sup>  
 քուն with a different hand w<sup>A</sup> B 8 կուբայն corr կուպայն mg<sup>l</sup> A 9 միջի + i. q w<sup>B</sup> F<sub>5</sub>  
 10 լադինացոցս 3<sup>0</sup> դ corr տ with a different hand w<sup>A</sup> B 10 հելլենացոց + 3<sup>0</sup> լ within  
 the word, with a different hand B 23.1 ընթհարականս + 5<sup>0</sup> ն w<sup>A</sup> B; աւետարչացն +  
 6<sup>0</sup> ան w<sup>A</sup> T 2 որ + 2<sup>0</sup> ք with a different hand w<sup>A</sup> B

they may build a church from the royal treasury and surround it with a high circular wall, and inside it separate spaces and rooms for men and women who come [as pilgrims] from Armenia. And their expenses and all the needs for staying and departing shall be paid by the royal court. I also prepared a place to celebrate the Liturgy for St. Gregory in the great Church of Resurrection and on the Golgotha of Crucifixion, and [a place] from the upper part in the Dome<sup>136</sup> and a lantern inside it that is always lit,<sup>137</sup> as there are three lanterns on top of the Sepulchre of Christ in the memory of Latins, Armenians and Hellenes.

23. And I wrote general edicts to Patriarchs who hold the Chairs [founded by] the Evangelists that are in the East, [proclaiming that] they should

<sup>136</sup> This expression is not clear in Armenian. The first word զմասից (gen. pl. of մաս) means head, top, used mainly in plural, but with the sense of sing. as well (cfr Ciakciak). Therefore, the word may be translated into sing. The second word is կուսայն nom. or acc. sing. of կուսայ, meaning again head, top, but here most likely in the sense of the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre which was referred to as *qoubbeh*, *alcuba* or *κύβος* in Greek, cf. Vincet-Abel 1914, 220. Thus, it seems to indicate that Constantine says: I prepared [պատրաստեցի] a place for the celebration of the Eucharist in the Great Church of the Resurrection and at the Golgotha of the Crucifixion and [I prepared a place in?] the Dome that is on high and a lantern [զմիջի կանթեղն, the latter in accus. sing.] that is inside. The reference to the Dome remains obscure. Some Agat'angelos group mss. have զմասից կուսայի which would indicate 'from the top part of the dome'. These are not the oldest mss and their variant is probably due to a deliberate scribal correction introduced at the level of the ancestor of only this group. Moreover, even this variant leaves the meaning of the phrase ambivalent. I have maintained the reading of the majority of the mss. in the Armenian text as զմասից կուսայն and provided as close a translation in English as possible.

<sup>137</sup> As the anonymous reader of this book has suggested, the lantern mentioned in TD is not a sure reference to the lamp of the holy fire which would miraculously be lit every Easter. While the meaning of TD's phrasing remains ambiguous, one aspect that gives weight to this argument is that TD tells that this lantern was *always* lit.

իւրեանց, մանաւանդ եթէ և նախագահ իսկ, վասն զի յերկոտասան առաքելոցն չորքն անդանաւր կատարեցան: Անդ կայ և պատկեր փրկչին, զոր առաքեաց Աբգարու, որ յառաջ քան զամենայն թագաւորս նա հաւատաց 5 ի Քրիստոս Աստուած: Անդ կայ և փայտեղէն պատկեր սուրբ Աստուածածնին, զոր տէրն տեառնագրեաց և արինեաց յաւուր փոխման Աստուածամարն: Անդ կայ և խաչամասն Պատրոնիկէ, որ էր ի պարանոցի սրբոյ կուսին Հռիփսիմէ աւրիորդին. և այս մասն Հեղինէի և Կոստանդիանոսի, զոր մեք պարգևեցաք Տրդատայ: Անդ կայ և գեղարդն Ղունկիանոսի 10 հարիւրապետի, որով խոցեցաւ կող փրկչին և բղխեաց ջուր և արին՝ 342՝ նշանակ մկրտութեան և հաղորդութեան: Անդ է և աջն Յովսէփայ Արեւմաթացոյն, որ պատեաց և թաղեաց զՏէրն: Անդ է և շիշ իւղոյն զոր

3 իւրեանց] ինքեանց  $AA_1B_gCF_5T$  3 եթէ] i. om  $AA_1F_5T$  om C 3 և] om  $B_g$  3 նախագահ] նախագլուխ  $F_5$  3 յերկոտասան] i. om  $BbS_1y$  4 չորքն] f. om  $y$  4 անդանաւր] անտանոր  $A_1F_5g$  անդ ET անտանաւր  $F_3gKM_2my$  4 փրկչին] + մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի  $bS_1$  5 զոր] i. om  $S_1$  5 Աբգարու] աբկարու  $S_1$  5 որ] om F 6 Քրիստոս] քրիստոսի + աստուածութիւն  $F_3$  6 Աստուած] omt անդ կա և խաչամասն E 6 պատկեր] f. + ն  $F_3N_2N_9S_1T$  6 սուրբ] om  $F_3T$  7 զոր] + տիրամայրն եղեալ ամենամաքուր դիմացն, եթաց արտասուօք և արինեաց. և լոյս յերկնից խաչանման կաթեաց [կացեալ K] ի պատկերն յոր փոխման իւրոյ omt անդ կայ և խաչամասն  $A_g$  7 և արինեաց] om  $BF_3$  7 յաւուր] f. + u B om I 7-8 փոխման Աստուածամարն] սուրբ աստուածածնին փոխման + ծնողի և մօր իւրոյ  $y$  7-8 Աստուածամարն] մօրն իւրոյ  $F_5$  սուրբ աստուածածնին  $S_1$  8 Պատրոնիկէ] f. + u C f. + ի  $F_5$  8 սրբոյ] om  $A_g$  f. + ն  $CFF_5$  8-9 կուսին] om  $A_gCFF_5$  9 Հռիփսիմէ] հռեփսիմէ  $bF_3$  հռիփսիմեա + կուսին [+ն F] CF f. + ի  $EF_5$  հռիփսիմեայ  $gKM_2m$  9 աւրիորդին] i. + j K 9 այս] f. l  $F_5$  9 մասն] f. + u  $BbS_1$  9 Հեղինէի] f. om  $A_g$  Հեղինէայ  $F_5$  9 Կոստանդիանոսի] Կոստանդիանոսի E 10 մեք] մենք B մեք մէ C 10 Տրդատայ] + արքայի b 10 և] om K 10 գեղարդն] կեղարդն T 10 Ղունկիանոսի] om  $F_5$  ղունգիանոսի  $gM_2m$  ղունկիանոսի K 11 հարիւրապետի] f. + ն  $bFS_1y$  հարուրապետին  $F_3$  աստուածամուխ  $F_5$  11 կող] f. + ն b 11 փրկչին] + յիսուսի  $bS_1$  11 բղխեաց] բխեաց  $A_1BgIKM_2mT$  11 ջուր և արին] + ջուրն  $AB_{g2}$  արին և  $S_1$  12 նշանակ] + է AE 12 մկրտութեան և] + արինն  $AB_{g2}$  սուրբ  $A_1$  12 հաղորդութեան] omt անդ է և շիշ  $A_{g2}$  + ջուրն ի լուացումս աւագանին և արինն յարբումս խորհրդին  $y$  12 է] om  $BF_5T$  կայ  $CF_3$  12 և] om  $gg_y$  12 աջն] i. + j  $S_1$  12 Յովսէփայ] յովսէփայ b յովսէփու  $F_5$  12-13 Արեւմաթացոյն] արեւմաթացոյն A արեւմաթացոյն  $A_1BbEFIKM_2mT$  արեւմաթացոյն  $CF_3$  արեւմաթացոյն  $F_5$  արեւմաթացոյն  $S_1$  արեւմաթացոյն  $y$  13 է] կա C 13 իւղոյն] եղոյն  $A_1$  եղոյն C եղոյն  $gM_2my$

6 պատեր +  $3^0$  կ  $w^A B$  7-8 աստուածամարն ras + ն{n}ր{ա}  $L^A B$  9 ման +  $2^0$  u  $w^A C$  11 կոցեցաւ  $1^0$  կ corr իս  $w^A T$

consider the Armenian Patriarch as their equal and even higher in rank than themselves, since from twelve apostles four died there.<sup>138</sup> And [In Armenia] there is the image of the Saviour which he sent to Abgar who among all kings was the first to believe in Christ the God.<sup>139</sup> There is the wooden image of the Holy Theotokos which the Lord himself outlined and blessed in the day of the Dormition of the Mother of God.<sup>140</sup> There is a piece of the [True] Cross of Patronike that was on the neck of the Holy Virgin Hrip'simē,<sup>141</sup> and the other part of the Cross of Helen and Constantine which we donated to Trdat. There is the sword of the centurion Longinus with which was pierced the rib of the saviour whence blood and water issued: the water signifying the baptism and the blood—the communion.<sup>142</sup> There is the right hand of Joseph of Arimathea, who wrapped up and buried the Lord.<sup>143</sup> There is the bottle of oil which the Lord blessed

<sup>138</sup> On the problems of identifying the four apostles, cfr Chapter 2, pp. 112–114.

<sup>139</sup> Traditions related to each relic and a discussion can be found in Chapter 2, pp. 114–118. Here I will simply list the relevant primary sources. Labubnay 1868, 6.

<sup>140</sup> MX 1865, 282–296.

<sup>141</sup> Labubnay 1868, 12–17.

<sup>142</sup> TD's mention of Longinus' sword being in Armenia directly contrasts with Latin traditions about it, especially the discovery of the Holy Lance during the siege of Antioch in 1095. Cfr Peters 1998, 213–221. The Holy Lance was believed to have been preserved at the Monastery of St. Gelard (Holy Lance) and the present-day complex of churches goes back to the 13th century (the earliest structures date to the 7th century, though), presently at the Museum of Ejmiacin. Cfr Cuneo 1988 and Sahinyan 1976. I have not been able to identify a written source about the transfer of the Holy Lance to Armenia pre-dating TD which could have been used by its author. The author's purpose here, as elsewhere, is to elevate the location of Armenia as a focal point of preservation of the most venerable relics. It must be also added here that the interpretation of the water and blood issuing from Jesus's rib as representing the mysteries of Baptism and Communion was a typical Armenian interpretation and contrasted with that of the Latin and Byzantine churches. From among numerous Armenian theologians who discuss the matter one may bring forth the Confession of Faith of the Armenian Church written by Nersēs Šnorhali and sent to Emperor Manuel Comnenus in NS 1871, 133–134 who cites various scriptural and patristic authorities to justify this theological position.

<sup>143</sup> Mt. 27.57–60; Mk 15.42–46; Lk 23.50–53. I have not been able to identify the source which talks about the preservation of Joseph's right hand in Armenia.

արինեաց տերն և ետ ի ձեռս առաքելոցն, որովք հիւանդք ողջացան և մեղաւորք արդարացան, որպէս պատմէ սուրբն Մարկոս թափիչ և 15 աւետարանիչ: Անդ է և բովանդակ նշխարքն Մկրտչին, զոր Յովհաննէս աւետարանիչն էհան ի Հրէաստանէ յԵփեսոս՝ և Փերմեդիանոս եպիսկոպոսն եբեր ի Կեսարիայ, և սուրբն Ղևոնդէս սրբոյն Գրիգորի պարգևեաց: Նոյնպէս և զսրբոյն Աթանագինէ[ի], որ եղբայր էր Մարիամայ՝ մար Կրթանիսի և Արիստագիսի:

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24. Անդ են և Աստուածաբեալ սուրբ արքայն Տրդատ և Աստուածապետականն Գրիգոր զուարթունն, որոց տուաք հրաման, զի յամենայն գնացս ճանապարհաց իւրեանց, ուր և հանդիպեցին նշխարք սրբոց, առանց ամենայն հակառակութեան ամենայն ռք մասն պարգևեցէ նոցա որպէս

14 ետ] եղ  $A_1bCFF_5IN_9$  14 ի ձեռս]  $om K_g$  14 առաքելոցն]  $omt$  որպէս պատմէ  $A_1$  14 որովք]  $f. om A_gbCEFF_3IS_{1y}$  14 ողջացան] առողջացան  $AB_gF_3$   $omt$  որպէս պատմէ  $C$  15 արդարացան] արտարացան  $F_5$  16 աւետարանիչ]  $f. + \text{ն } CFF_5$   $omt$  էհան  $F_5$  16 և]  $om A_g$  16 բովանդակ] բաւանդակ  $FT$  16 նշխարքն] նշխար  $A$   $f. om A_gB_{g2}T + \text{յովաննու } A_gF + \text{յովհաննու } K$  16 Յովհաննէս] յոհաննէս  $AA_1BbEFIKy$  յոհանէս  $M_2m$  17 էհան] էհան  $C$  17 Հրէաստանէ]  $+ \text{և եբեր } A_g + \text{և տարաւ } D_g$   $om F$  17 յԵփեսոս]  $+ \text{ի}_{ant} A_1CF_3N_2T$   $f. + \text{է } CF_5$   $i. om F$  17-18 և Փերմեդիանոս եպիսկոպոսն]  $om C$  17 Փերմեդիանոս] փելմիլիանոս  $A_1$  փերմիանոս  $BF_5T$  փերմելիանոս  $EgM_{2y}$  փիրմիլիանոս  $F$  դերմելիանոս  $K$  17-18 եպիսկոպոսն]  $f. om A_1FN_2$  18 եբեր] բեր  $C$  18 Կեսարիայ]  $f. om C$  կեսարեա  $F_5$  18 և]  $om F_3$  18 սուրբն] տերն  $A$   $om F_3$   $f. om K$  18 Ղևոնդէս] ղէոնդիէս  $A$  ղևոնդիէս  $C$  18 սրբոյն Գրիգորի պարգևեաց] պարգևեաց սրբոյն Գրիգորի  $F_5g_gM_2m$  պարգևեաց սրբոյն  $omt$  Աթանագինէս  $K$  ետ պարգևս սրբոյն Գրիգորի  $S_1$  ետ սրբոյն Գրիգորի պարգևս  $y$  18 պարգևեաց] պարգև  $B$  19 Նոյնպէս] նոյնպէս  $B$  19 զսրբոյն] սուրբ  $A$   $f. om F_3$   $i. om F_5S_1T$  սուրբն  $y$  19 Աթանագինէ[ի]]  $f. om A_1CFN_2N_9T$   $f. այ A_gF_5$  19 որ]  $omt$  24.1 անդ են  $y$  19 եղբայր էր] էր եղբայր  $AB_{g2}CF$  է եղբայր  $F_5$  19 Մարիամայ] մարիամու  $CFF_5$  20 Կրթանիսի] վրդանիսի  $AF_5g$  վրթանասի  $F_3I$  վրդթանիսի  $N_9$  վրդանէսի  $S_1$  20 և]  $om AEI$  20 Արիստագիսի] արըսագիսի  $A$  առիստակիսի  $F$  արիստակիսի  $F_3F_5M_2N_9y$  ոստակիսի  $gK_gm$  արիստակէսի  $S_1$  ոսակիսի  $T$  24.1 Անդ] անդանոր  $omt$  տուաք հրաման  $B$  1 են] է  $AbCEFIS_1Ty$   $om F_5$  էն  $gKM_2N_2$   $om$  և  $y$  1 սուրբ]  $om F_5$  1-2 Աստուածապետականն] աստուածապարգև  $F_5$  աստուածապիտականն  $T$  2 Գրիգոր] գրիգորիոս  $AbEF_3Iy$  գրիգորոս  $S_1$  2 զուարթունն]  $f. om A$  2 որոց]  $+ \text{անդանոր } D_g$  2 յամենայն]  $i. om EF_5S_1$  3 ճանապարհաց] ճանապարհի  $F_5$  3 իւրեանց]  $om A$  իւրոց  $E$  3 և]  $+ \text{հասանիցեն և } A$  3 հանդիպեցին] հանդիպին  $ABbEIS_{1y} + \text{նոքա } E$   $f. om F_5g_g$  հանդիպեցէն  $K$  3 սրբոց]  $f. + \text{ն } AbEIS_{1y}$  աոցեն ի սրբոց նշխարացն  $F_3$  4 ամենայն]  $om CD_gF_3$  4 հակառակութեան]  $f. + g A_g + \text{և } F_3$  4 պարգևեցէ] տայցէ  $A$  4 նոցա]  $om A_gS_1$   $omt$  վասն որոյ  $C$

17 եզիպտոս  $corr$  յեփեսոս  $m^L S_1$

and gave to the Apostles and with which the sick were cured and the sinful became just, as St. Mark the evangelist and the launderer<sup>144</sup> tells. There are also all the relics of John the Baptist, which John the Evangelist took from Judaea to Ephesus and Bishop P'ermelianos brought to Caesarea, and Lord Levondēs donated to St. Gregory,<sup>145</sup> also [the relics] of At'anaginē, who was the brother of Mariam,<sup>146</sup> the mother of Vrt'anēs and Aristakēs.

24. And there are also the Holy King Trdat, filled with God, and the divine and always vigilant Gregory, to whom we gave a command that during their entire journey, wherever they come across relics of saints, everyone should give them a part without any opposition, just as we donated

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<sup>144</sup> Possibly an allusion to Mk 6.13. The Armenian word used here as an epithet of Mark is *t'ap'ič'* which translates as 'launderer'. According to NBH 'some' were confused about Mark's profession because he makes a reference to this profession in one of his parables. But NBH sites only TD which indicates Mark's profession being a launderer.

<sup>145</sup> Aa §810, Vg §147; YM 1941, 75-77.

<sup>146</sup> Gregory's wife's name is told to be Mariam in MX 1913, 2.81, but I have not identified the source where At'anaginē is told to be Mariam's brother.



և մեր զբազուկս երկուց առաքելոցն պարզկեցաք և այլ անթիւ մասունս: 5  
 Վասն որոյ, յետ մեր վեհագոյն հրամանացս՝ հայոց հայրապետին կայ  
 իշխանութիւն, զոր ինչ և կամեսցի, ըստ առաքելական [կանոնացն], կապել և  
 արձակել յերկինս և յերկրի: Աւրինեալքն ի հայոց հայրապետէն աւրինեալք  
 343<sup>r</sup> եղիցին ի Քրիստոսէ և ի սրբոց առաքելոցս և ի մէնջ և յամենայն սրբոց, և  
 բանադրեալքն ի նմանէ ի նմին կացցեն մինչև զղջացին: Եւ հրաման հանէ 10  
 հայոց հայրապետն ի հայս և ի հռոմս, ի վիրս և յաղուանս, յատրիս և ի  
 պարսս, ի ծովէ մինչև ի ծով, ի գետոց մինչև ի ծագս աշխարհի:

25. Այս զիր միաբանութեան, և սիրոյ, և հաստատ հայրագրութեան  
 հայոց, զրեցաւ հրամանաւ մերով՝ Կոստանդեայ կայսեր և [Սեդրեստրոսի]

5 և] om y 5 զբազուկս զբազումս E 5 երկուց] f. om Bb f. + u E երկուցունց  
 F<sub>3</sub>gK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>m 5 առաքելոցն] f. u A<sub>g</sub>bEIS<sub>1</sub>y + Պետրոսի և Պաղոսի և զահեակն  
 Անդրէի FF<sub>5</sub> omt վասն որոյ F<sub>5</sub> 5 այլ] + բազում AB<sub>g</sub> om KN<sub>9</sub> 5 մասունս] f. +  
 ն I f. p S<sub>1</sub> 6 որոյ] + և AF 6 մեր] մերոյ D<sub>g</sub> 7 զոր ինչ և] զինչ և y 7 և] ևս  
 AF 7 կանոնացն] f. om A<sub>g</sub> կանոնօքն F<sub>3</sub> կանոնփացն N<sub>2</sub> 8 արձակել] արձակել  
 T 8 յերկինս] + ի<sub>ant</sub> A<sub>1</sub>BbN<sub>2</sub>S<sub>1</sub>Ty 8 յերկրի] + ի<sub>ant</sub> A<sub>1</sub>BbCF<sub>3</sub>IN<sub>2</sub>TS<sub>1</sub>y յերկր B  
 i. om Em des F<sub>3</sub> 8 Աւրինեալքն] աւրինեալն AN<sub>2</sub> 8 հայրապետէն] f. u A +  
 հայոց F<sub>5</sub> 8 աւրինեալք] f. om AB<sub>g</sub>CK<sub>g</sub>M<sub>2</sub>mT 9 եղիցին] լիցի A լիցին B<sub>g</sub> f. om  
 K 9 Քրիստոսէ] + և ի ամենայն սրբոց նորա S<sub>1</sub> 9 սրբոց] om ի<sub>ant</sub> F<sub>5</sub> f. + u m  
 9 առաքելոցս] f. ն CF<sub>5</sub>T f. om K<sub>g</sub> 9 և ի մէնջ] և ի մէջ B om C omt և բանադրեալքն  
 S<sub>1</sub> 9 և] om A<sub>1</sub> 9 յամենայն] i. om EF<sub>5</sub>y 9 սրբոց] + և ի մէնջ C 10 բանադրեալքն]  
 բանադրեալն A + ին omt զղջացին C 10 ի նմանէ] om A 10 կացցեն] կացեն A  
 կայցցեն N<sub>9</sub> 10 զղջացին] i. + g A զղջացեն E 10 Եւ] om C 10 հանէ] հանցեն  
 F<sub>5</sub> 11 հայրապետն] հայր C հայրապետին F հայրապետքն հայոց F<sub>5</sub> 11 և] om  
 C 11 հռոմս] f. ն AI om ի<sub>ant</sub> AA<sub>1</sub>EgIKM<sub>2</sub>m + և AgKM<sub>2</sub>m հռոմս CK 11 վիրս]  
 վրաց AE վերս K 11 յաղուանս] + ի<sub>ant</sub> AF + և AA<sub>g</sub>B<sub>g</sub>C յաղվանս A յաղուանս  
 bgKM<sub>2</sub> f. om E + ի F աղուանս S<sub>1</sub> յաղվանս T 11 և] om BC 12 պարսս] f. om  
 A<sub>g</sub>BCEFF<sub>5</sub> 12 աշխարհի] f. + u A + և ի դրունս դրախտին D<sub>g</sub> երկրի F<sub>5</sub> աշխարհէ  
 I 25.1 Այս] + է bES<sub>1</sub> 1 զիր] + է AB<sub>1</sub>y կտակ F<sub>5</sub> 1 և] om A<sub>1</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 1 հաստատ]  
 հաստատութեան A 1 հաստատ հայրագրութեան] հաստատութեան գրութիւն  
 F<sub>5</sub> 1 հայրագրութեան] հայրենութեան B հայրենագրութեան bEIS<sub>1</sub>T + և սիրոյ  
 ի հետ D<sub>g</sub> հայրենասիրութեան y 2 հրամանաւ մերով] մերով հրամանաւ A<sub>g</sub>  
 մերով հրամանաւս b մերովս հրամանաւ S<sub>1</sub> 2 մերով] f. j FF<sub>5</sub> 2 Կոստանդեայ]  
 կոստանդիանոսի AA<sub>g</sub>B<sub>g</sub>2 կոստանդեա C կոստիանդիանոսի g կոստանդիեա y  
 2 կայսեր] f. + u F<sub>5</sub> 2 Սեդրեստրոսի] սեդրեստրոսի N<sub>2</sub>

8 արձակել + 6<sup>0</sup> w A N<sub>9</sub>; յերկրի + ի<sub>ant</sub> w A I 9 + առ{ա}ք{է}լ{ն}gu m<sup>L</sup> M<sub>2</sub> 10 հանի  
 + 3<sup>0</sup> g w A F 12 միչև + ն 2<sup>0</sup> w A A

the arms of the two Apostles<sup>147</sup> as well as many other innumerable relics. Because of this and upon our highest command the Armenian Patriarch has the authority to bind and loose in heaven and on earth whatever he wishes, according to Apostolic precepts. Those blessed by the Armenian Patriarch shall be blessed by Christ, and by the Holy Apostles, by us and by all saints, and those excommunicated by him should stay in that condition until they repent. And the Armenian Patriarch has [the authority to] command Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, Albanians, Syrians and Persians, from sea to sea, from the rivers<sup>148</sup> until the edge of the world.

25. This is the letter of concordance and love, of unwavering [tradition] of Armenian Fathers. It was written by our orders, of Emperor Constantine

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<sup>147</sup> Some mss add the 'left arm of Apostle Andrew'. For a discussion cfr Chapter 3, p. 240.

<sup>148</sup> The rivers in question are not specified. The author may allude to the rivers of paradise.

պապի, ի մեծի սինհոդոսիս, ի տանի սուրբ առաքելոցս, լատին լեզուա  
մակագրեալ և արքունական մատանեալ մերով կնքեալ և ստորագրեալ:  
Եւ զհաւասարն այսմ թղթոյ և զմիաբանութեան թուղթն Տրդատայ և սրբոյն 5  
Գրիգորի եղաք ի ջամբոն արքունի: Իսկ զայս զիրս աւանդեցաք ի ձեռս  
ատենադպրին հայոց արքային, մեծիմաստին Ագաթան[զ]ե[ղ]ոսի ի փառս  
Աստուծոյ: Եւ Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ մերոյ փառք յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից.  
ամէն ամէն:

3 պապի] պապոյ A f. + u S<sub>1</sub> 3 մեծի] f. om A<sub>g</sub>BET om ի<sub>ant</sub> AB<sub>g2</sub>C 3 սինհոդոսիս]  
f. om AA<sub>1</sub>A<sub>g</sub>B<sub>g</sub>F<sub>5</sub> սինհոդոսիս F սինհոդոսիս T 3 ի տանի սուրբ առաքելոցս] ի  
սուրբ առաքելոցն տանի E 3 առաքելոցս] f. և CF<sub>5</sub> f. om γ 3 լատին] լադին  
ABI դարին C 3 լեզուալ] լեզուով γ 4 մակագրեալ] մակադրեալ AgM<sub>2</sub>m  
կնքեալ om և B omt զհաւասարն FF<sub>5</sub> մակագրել N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> 4 մատանեալ] f. + u A  
4 կնքեալ և ստորագրեալ] կնքել և ստորագրել A<sub>1</sub>N<sub>2</sub>N<sub>9</sub> om B 4 ստորագրեալ]  
om C 5 զհաւասարն] i. om ABK f. om B հաւատարն gM<sub>2</sub>m 5 թղթոյ] f. + u bS<sub>1</sub>  
թղթի Cy թխտոյ EF թխտի F<sub>5</sub> թխտոյ gM<sub>2</sub>T 5 զմիաբանութեան] զմիաբանութիւն  
Ay 5 զմիաբանութեան թուղթն] զիմ միաբանութիւնս ի հետ D<sub>g</sub> 5 թուղթն] om  
ATEI f. om C թուխտն FKT թուխթն F<sub>5</sub>gM<sub>2</sub>m 6 ի ջամբոն] իջմամբ + առն A ի  
ջամբոն CN<sub>9</sub> ի ջափոն F ի ջափառն F<sub>5</sub> 6 արքունի] յարքունական + և Քրիստոսի  
աստուծոյն մերոյ փառք յաւիտեանս. ամէն. des F<sub>5</sub> 6 զայս] միւս B + միւս b + և<sub>ant</sub> E  
omt ի ձեռն S<sub>1</sub> 6 զիրս] f. om A<sub>g</sub>C 6 աւանդեցաք] փոխադրեալ B + և փոխադրեալ  
b om S<sub>1</sub> 6 ի ձեռս] f. և AA<sub>g</sub>bFEIS<sub>1</sub>γ om B 7 ատենադպրին] f. om S<sub>1</sub> 7 արքային]  
թագաւորին + տրդատայ մեծի B թագաւորին + տրդատայ մեծ արքային և bS<sub>1</sub>  
7 մեծիմաստին] մեծին իմաստնոյն A մեծի իմաստնոյն bEI մեծի և իմաստնեան  
C մեծի իմաստնին F մեծ իմաստի gm մեծիմաստի KM<sub>2</sub> մեծ իմաստնոյն S<sub>1</sub>γ մեծ  
իմաստնին T om B 7 Ագաթա[ն]զե[ղ]ոսի] աթանգեղոսի A ագաթանկեղոսի  
A<sub>1</sub>BbEFN<sub>9</sub>γ ագադանգեղոսի C + քաջ ճարտարագրչի և տարեալ հասոյց[om B] ի  
հայս ի փառս քրիստոսի աստուծոյ մերոյ, որ է օրհնեալ յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից.  
ամէն des D<sub>g</sub> ագաթանկեղոյն I ագաթանկելոսի N<sub>2</sub> 8 Աստուծոյ] + որ է օրհնեալ  
յաւիտեանս. ամէն des AFgIM<sub>2</sub>my + հաւր. ամէն des A<sub>1</sub> des CE + որ է օրհնեալ  
յաւիտեանս. ամէն. հայր մեր որ յերկինս ս[ուր]բ ե[ղիցի] des K + և Քրիստոսի  
փառք յաւիտեանս des N<sub>9</sub> + որ է օրհնեալ des T

3 ras սուրբ առաքելոցս B 4 ստորագրեալ + 6<sup>0</sup> p w<sup>B</sup> T 6 ջամբն + 4<sup>0</sup> n w<sup>B</sup> T

and of Pope Sylvester, at a Great Synod on the feast day of the Holy Apostles, written in Latin language and sealed and signed with our royal ring. And a true copy of this letter of concord of Trdat and St. Gregory was deposited in the royal *chambre*.<sup>149</sup> And we trusted this letter to the hand of the secretary of the Armenian King, the great sage Agat'angelos, for the glory of God. And eternal glory be to Christ our God. Amen, amen.

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<sup>149</sup> The Armenian text uses the Old French loan word շաւփն (*jambr*) which I preserved in the translation.

## APPENDIX A

### MISPLACED TEXT-BLOCKS

Starting with 6.4  $F_3$  misplaces several text-blocks in the following order:

6.4 (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>, col. 1, line 1) բազմաբիւր իշ → 6.20 մէջ երկուց ազգացս ...  
7.17 (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>, col. 2 line 20) ի վերայ ձեր ամենեցուն → 6.4 (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>, col. 2  
line 20) {իշ} իսանօքս ... 6.22–23 (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>, col. 2, line 11) հաստատուն կացցէ  
→ 7.17 (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>, col. 2 line 20) կացուցի թագաւոր և իշխան ... 9.1 (fol. 12<sup>v</sup>,  
col. 2, line 10) և մեծափառ ղշխոյս → 10.2–3 (fol. 12<sup>v</sup>, col. 2, line 10) ի սրբոյ  
կուսէն ... 12.3–3 (fol. 13<sup>r</sup>, col. 2 line 12) յանցանելն ընդ ծովս → 9.1 (fol. 13<sup>r</sup>,  
col. 2 line 12) [ղշխոյս] մեր Մաքսիստէս ... 10.2 (fol. 13<sup>v</sup>, col. 2 line 15)  
զտեղի ծննդեանն Քրիստոսի → 12.3 (fol. 13<sup>v</sup>, col. 2 line 15) {ընդ ծովս}  
Յունական ... 25.4 (desinit).

## APPENDIX 1

### PROVINCES OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE LISTED IN TD

The list of Roman provinces that Constantine the Great places under King Trdat's command can also give hints as to the relationship between mss, as well as the quality of the text of some mss. In order to make the text fit in the rows of the table below I have made the following abbreviations. Whenever there was a mention of  $\omega\eta\lambda\omega\upsilon\phi$  (always in the locative case) I indicated it with the word "Land" in the tables below.

It seemed logical that the most accessible and obvious source of geographical knowledge for the author must have been the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* (Geography) of Anania Širakac'i. In fact, the information that Noah built his Arc in the province of Phrygia is found there, although it is not clear whether the author used the long version or the short version of this text.<sup>1</sup> All those mss which do not have omissions in the list of provinces are faithful to this source when citing the location where Noah's arc was built. However, beyond this detail, the list of the Roman provinces does not follow that found in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*. Bartikian has suggested that this list goes back to the "original core" of the TD which was the actual Pact of Alliance signed between Constantine and Trdat. I have discussed the problems related to such a reconstructions elsewhere. However, I agree with Bartikian that the list here must depend on a source that is similar to *Laterculus Veronensis*. Something like the *Notitia Dignitatum* is also a possibility. I do not think we can accept this list as a source on the situation of the Eastern Roman Provinces in the fourth century. All that can be said is that the author of TD had access to a source which listed Eastern Roman Provinces. However, he did not list all of them as found in *Laterculus Veronensis*, for example.

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<sup>1</sup> Anania Širakac'i 1994, 23 (of the Long Version) and 345 (of the Short Version). According to Yeremian, the idea that Noah built his arc in Phrygia, and specifically in the city of Kibotos as in *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, came from the misunderstanding of the word *kibotos*, which could both refer to the arc (and this is what was understood), thus Arc of Noah, and to the wealth of Apamea, since it can also mean *chest*, *coffer*. Cfr the citation of Yeremyan in Hewsén 1992, 102, note 48.

## B FAMILY

The comparative lists below allow the conclusion that the ancestor of the B family must have had the enumeration of provinces as preserved in the majority of B family mss (here the third row from the left). The other mss, such as dYy (the *d sub-group*) and SS<sub>1</sub> (which, as was seen above are sister mss) have either omissions or a somewhat different order of provinces.

dYy	D	Bbb <sub>1</sub> b <sub>2</sub> DPP <sub>1</sub> / EE <sub>1</sub> IJ	S <sub>1</sub>	S
Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa	Africa
Egypt	Egypt	Egypt		
Palestine Land	Palestine Land	Palestine Land	Palestine Land	Palestine Land
Asia	Asia	Asia	Asia	<i>Great Assyria</i>
Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	<i>Asia</i>
Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria*	Great Assyria	<i>Mesopotamia Land</i>
Phoenicia	Phoenicia	Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia	
<i>Phrygia</i>	<i>Phrygia</i>	Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia
<i>Cilicia</i>	<i>Cilicia</i>	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc**	Phrygia, Noah's arc	Phrygia, Noah's arc
Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia
Cappadocia		Cappadocia	Cappadocia	Cappadocia
Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia
Galatia	Galatia	Galatia	Galatia	Galatia
Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus
Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land	Aisa Land
Honorias	Honorias	Honorias Land	Honorias	Honorias
Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion***	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of <i>Pontus</i>
Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns

\* The word-order for "Great Assyria" is different in some mss. Thus, in Bb<sub>2</sub>D it is 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧. This is the version found in all other mss (which contain Great Assyria). The rest, namely bb<sub>1</sub>PP<sub>1</sub> invert the order resulting in: 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧.

\*\* The group EE<sub>1</sub>IJ omits the word "Land" in this location.

\*\*\* In all of the mss of this raw (and in general of the entire B family), Byzantion is spelled with the letter *u*, typical for Western Armenian dialects. For the same reasons, *η* in some mss has become *u*. As a result of these changes stemming from the phonetical characteristics of the letters and the confusion between graphically similar letters *q* and *η*, there is a great variation of corruptions in lieu of the toponym Byzantion, such as: *պիզատոն* in BD, *պիզատոն* in b, *պիզատայ* in b<sub>1</sub>, *պեղանտացոն* in S<sub>1</sub> and *պնտացոն* in S.

## THE A FAMILY MSS

### Group F

Within this group the most complete list is presented in ms F, which agrees with the majority of the A family mss regardless of group or subgroup affiliation. Ms L is damaged and illegible. One consistent feature in all the other mss is that they all omit Arabia and Mesopotamia at the beginning of the list, and Asia and Honorias towards the end. F<sub>3</sub> has the most lacunous text. This is proof that F<sub>2</sub> was not copied from F<sub>3</sub>, otherwise it would also omit such toponyms as Great Assyria and Phoenicia. Moreover, there are various idiosyncratic spellings of these geographical names and corruptions which the English translation 'hides', such as *բիդանացոն* (*bidanac'oc'*) for Bythinians in F<sub>1</sub>, *բիզանդաւոն* for Byzantines in F<sub>3</sub>, *հունաց* (of the Greeks) instead of *հնաց* (of the Huns) which completely changes the meaning of the text in F<sub>2</sub>, etc.

F	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>
Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land
Arabia					
Mesopotamia Land					
Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria		Great Assyria
Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land		Phoenicia Noah's arc
Cilicia	Cilicia, Noah's arc	Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia	
Phrygia, Noah's arc		Phrygia, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	
Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia



F	F <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	F <sub>2</sub>	F <sub>3</sub>	F <sub>5</sub>
Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land
Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia	Bithynia
Galatia Land	Galatia	Galatia Land	Galatia Land	Galatia Land	Galatia Land
Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus	Pontus
Asia Land					
Honorias					
Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion
Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns

### THE AGAT'ANGELOS GROUP AND OTHER A FAMILY MSS

As already discussed above, the Agat'angelos group can be divided into to sub-groups,  $A_{g2}$  on the one hand and the *g sub-group* on the other. The list of provinces also follows this division. Moreover, as it was demonstrated the *g sub-group* maintained variants found in other A family mss against omissions or changes in the  $A_{g2}$  sub-group. The same can be said with regards to the list of provinces. The *g sub-group* agrees with most of the A family mss, whereas  $A_{g2}$  has some omissions.

F, g <sub>g</sub> , N, N <sub>1-5</sub> , N <sub>7-8</sub> , T, T <sub>1</sub> , T <sub>2</sub> ,	$A_{g2}$ sub-group	AA <sub>1</sub> N <sub>6</sub>
Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land
Arabia	Arabia	Arabia
Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land
Great Assyria		Great Assyria
Phoenicia Land		Phoenicia Land
Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia
Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc
Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia
Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia	Cappadocia Land
Bithynia	Bithynia	
Galatia (Land)*	Galatia	
Pontus	Pontus	Pontus
Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land

F, g <sub>g</sub> , N, N <sub>1-5</sub> , N <sub>7-8</sub> , T, T <sub>1</sub> , T <sub>2</sub> ,	A <sub>g2</sub> sub-group	AA <sub>1</sub> N <sub>6</sub>
Honorias	Honorias	Honorias
Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion
Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns

\* In g<sub>g</sub> Galatia is not cited as a "Land", whereas in all other mss it is. The AA<sub>1</sub>N<sub>6</sub> version stems from a text where Galatia was cited as a "Land." The omission of Bithynia and Galatia could be due to a homoeoteleuton (all these provinces are cited in genitive plural and often have the same case ending). Because of this omission in AA<sub>1</sub>N<sub>6</sub> the word "Land" is attached to Cappadocia from its original location after Galatia.

AA<sub>1</sub>N<sub>6</sub> do not exhibit other significant common variants in the text and I do not think that the common omission in this location gives enough proof to postulate a close relationship. Moreover, T<sub>1</sub> which is so closely related to A behaves just like the majority of the A family mss here, which means that in this location it preserves a better text than its sister A.

The version preserved in CC<sub>1</sub> occupies a middle position between A and B families. From the two mss C is deficient, as it omits several provinces. The list of the forefather of the C family can be reconstructed based on C<sub>1</sub>. Below is the list of both mss side by side.

C	C <sub>1</sub>
Africa Land	Africa Land
Egypt	Egypt
	Palestine
Arabia	Arabia
Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land
Great Assyria	Great Assyria
Phoenicia Land, Noah's arc	Phoenicia Land
	Cilicia
	Phrygia, Noah's arc
Pamphylia	Pamphylia
Cappadocia	Cappadocia Land
Pontus	Pontus
Bithynia	Bithynia
Galatia Land	Galatia Land
	Asia Land

C	C <sub>1</sub>
	Honorias
	from Bithynia
	to Gates of the Huns

The omissions of C compared to C<sub>1</sub> can be explained by homoeoteleuton. However, the list is not complete at the end either. It is evident that C<sub>1</sub> has a superior text here.

In order to better compare the versions of the families and clearly demonstrate the intermediate position of the C group (based on ms C<sub>1</sub>) the table below presents the best list from each family side by side.

B family	A family	C <sub>1</sub>	Reconstructed Archetypus
African Land	Africa Land	Africa Land	Africa Land
Egypt		Egypt	Egypt
Palestine Land		Palestine	Palestine Land
Asia	Arabia	Arabia	Arabia
Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land	Mesopotamia Land
Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria	Great Assyria
Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land	Phoenicia Land
Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia
Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc	Phrygia, Noah's arc	Phrygia Land, Noah's arc
Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia	Pamphylia
Cappadocia	Cappadocia (Land)	Cappadocia Land	Cappadocia Land
Bithynia	Bithynia	<i>Pontus</i>	Bithynia
Galatia	Galatia (Land)	Bithynia	Galatia Land
Pontus	Pontus	Galatia Land	Pontus
Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land	Asia Land
Honorias Land	Honorias	Honorias	Honorias
Gates of Byzantion	Gates of Byzantion	<i>Bithynia</i>	Gates of Byzantion
Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns	Gates of the Huns

What emerges is that all A family mss, except for C and C<sub>1</sub>, omit Egypt and Palestine. On the other hand, the B family mentions Asia twice, once at the beginning of the list (the third in the sequence) and the second time towards the end of the list where it is cited as a "Land." The B family

omits Arabia (which is replaced with the first mention of Asia). Based on evidence from all mss one may hypothesize that the archetypus did contain Egypt, Palestine (preserved in the B family and C<sub>1</sub>) and Arabia (preserved in A family) and Asia was mentioned only once towards the end of the list. Moreover, it seems that the provinces are mentioned in the order moving from south west (Africa) to north east. Thus, to mention Asia after Africa and Egypt would not fit the geographical context, whereas placing it before Palestine would be much more logical and in line with the order of provinces in TD. The list of Eastern Roman provinces as could be found in the hypothetical archetypus is presented in the last columns (on the right) in the table above.

## APPENDIX 2

### GLOSSARY OF RARE LOAN-WORDS AND HAPAXES\*

The glossary first provides the English transcription of the Armenian word in the form it appears in the text, reference to TD, its Armenian variants found in mss, whenever those present significant differences (further variants can be found in the apparatus), the case and number, the nominative singular form (sometimes hypothetical), then the possible origin of the word and a proposed translation.

[y]aprišmeñnac' (9.7) յապրիշմեղինաց, յապրիշումեղինաց, substantive, gen. pl., nominative: ապրիշում, according to HAB from Pahlawi \*aprešum, Persian abrešum, Syriac abrišum, all meaning **silk**. The word is attested in many other Armenian texts.

awfrant'i (20.12) աւփրանթի, օփրանդի, օփրանդէի, substantive, gen. s., nominative *ofrand/oprand*, from Old French *offrande*, meaning an **offering** to the church. Cfr NBH, HAB and Mildonyan 1980, 6.

awk'sunakan (8.3-4) աւքունական/աւգունական, adjective used in the nom. sing., from Greek οξύς here referred to bright **purple colour**.

bahuands (9.6) բահուանդ, substantive, acc. pl., nominative բահուանդ. According to HAB a hapax, attested only in TD, from Pahlavi \*bāhūvand, Pers. bāzūband, meaning **bracelet or some other kind of jewelry for arms**.

čap'ar (14.19) [h] չափար, substantive, acc. sing., nom. չափար. According to HAB from Arabic *čapar*, meaning **fence**.

č'uxazgestk' (18.4) չուխազգեստք, չուխազգեստք, չուխայազգեստք, substantive, nom. pl., sing չուխազգեստ. According to HAB from Persian č'uxay, meaning a monk's (woolen) **habit**. Thus, this is a composite word from Persian č'uxay and Armenian *zgest*, meaning **dressed in monk's habit**.

dawsičay (9.4) դաւսիճայ, must be a substantive in nom. sing. This hapax is not found in dictionaries. The word is used for describing Xosroviduxt. This is probably a loan word from New Persian, itself stemming from Pahlavi doshizag, which means **virgin, maiden**.<sup>1</sup>

\* In this list I have included unusual or rarely used loan words and excluded those which are commonly found in many other texts. For example, I have not included *adamantes* (diamond), *bambiš* (queen), etc.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. James Russell for his valuable help in deciphering this word. He also clarified that the loss of final 'g' is common in loan words from Pahlavi to New Persian.

**dimos** (18.12) դիմոս, substantive, nom. s. According to HAB, from Gr. δημόσιος, meaning the **treasury**, where public taxes are rendered. In TD the word seems to be used in the sense of a **public tax-collector**.

**dimosakan** (18.2) դիմոսական, adjective, not declined, deriving from the substantive դիմոս According HAB **pertaining to public taxes**.

**dioskoransans** (21.31) դիոսկորանշանս, դիոսկորանշանս, adjective, acc. pl., nominative: դիոսկորանշան—**with signs of dioskuroi**. This is a composite word made up of Gr. Διόσκουροι and Armenian *nšan*—sign. Not exactly in this form, but as two separate words, it is found in Acts of Apostles 28.11, describing the ship by which St. Paul sailed to Syracuse. In the Bible it is described as նշանաւորաւ Դիոսկորացոց. The *Dioskuroi*, known also as *phosphoroi*, were considered to be the twin stars of dawn and sunset. But in fact, they were only the astronomical aspects of Planet Venus during these different hours of the day. They were considered to bring good luck to sailors and were often attached to the mast of ships for securing safe crossing of the seas. Cfr Carlier 1989.

**duḷēs** (9.8) դուլէս, դուլէսս, դուլէսս, դուլէսս, substantive, possibly in acc. pl. (in some variants the case ending *s* is omitted), nom. դուլէս. Not found in NBH, but HAB suggests that the nominative must be դուլայ (duḷay), which it defines as an unidentifiable hapax found in TD, and translates it as a type of precious cloth. This explanation, however, does not fit the context. It likely originates from Gr. δοῦλος—slave and refers to *Dalmatian slaves* in TD.

**fratk'** (6.15) ֆրատք, substantive, nom. pl. found only in F family mss. as a variant of frērēk', always in the sense of **brother**.

**frēr** (6.15; 14.1) ֆրէր, ֆրէր, substantive, once used in nom. pl. and once in nom. sing. From Old French *frère*, **brother**, used in TD exactly in this sense.

**gramik** (9.10) գրամիկ, գրամփիկ, substantive, nom. sing. Based on the content and the variant reading of *gramp'k* this word could be a corruption of Old French *grandfils*, **grandson**. It is not attested in NBH. HAB proposes (with a question mark) the meaning of 'adoptive son' which somewhat fits into the context of TD as well.

**jambīn** (25.6) [h] ջամին, ջամբոն, ջամփոն, substantive, acc. sing., nom. ջամ[բ]ոն, from Old French *chambre*. Used in other Cilician sources, meaning **royal chamber, chancellor**.

**juharakans** (21.13) ջուհարականս, ջուհարակունս, ճուհարականս, adjective, acc. pl., nom. ջուհարական. According to HAB from Arabic *jauhar*, itself a loan word from Pers. *gōhar*. The latter is a more common loan word in Armenian, usually written and pronounced as *gohar*. In both cases the meaning is the same: **gems (made of gems in this case)**.

**kubayn** (22.8) կուբայն, կուպայն, դուպայն, կուպայի, substantive, acc. sing. or gen. sing. (in some mss), nom. կուբայ. HAB suggests that it comes from Arabic *qubba*, meaning a **dome**. The loan word is used (according to HAB) only to denote the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre, as is the case in TD. Vincent-Abel 1914, 220 mentions that the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre was denominated as Gr. κύβος, Hebr. *qoubah*, Arab. *qoubbeh*.

**kurtaks** (16.7) [h] կուրտակս, կորդակս, կուրդակս, substantive, acc. pl., nom. կուրտակ/կորդակ. According to HAB a hapax to be interpreted as a type of a military helmet.

[z] **lanonawk'** (8.11) [q] ղանոնաւք, ղաննաւք, substantive, instr. pl., nom. ղանն. According to NBH from Gr. ὄργανον, i.e. organ. HAB proposes that TD has a different musical instrument in mind, as just before *lanonawk'* it mentions *ergehon*, the Armenian word for *organ*. HAB interprets *lanon* as 'an eastern multi-string musical instrument' from Arabic qānūn, in its turn a loan word from Gr. κανών. The context of TD supports the HAB hypothesis and I have translated it as lyre, the closest approximation to qānūn.

**margartamavčawk'** (8.4) մարգարտամաւճաւք/մարգարտամաւճաւք **margatamawčawk'** adjective, instr. pl., nom. \*մարգարտամաւճ, a composite word from մարգարիտ an older loan word from Greek, meaning pearl and *mawič* Arabic *mewj* meaning wave (according to Hac'uni 1924, p. 238). Thus, the word can be translated as 'pearls [sown] in a wave pattern'.

**piłagosac'n** (7.3) պիղագոսացն, պիլագոսացն, պէղագոսացն, substantive, gen. pl., nominative: պիղագոս. NBH and HAB give պէղագոս as the correct form, from Gr. πέλαγος—sea. Besides TD, both dictionaries indicate that the word is found also in *Ašxarhac'oyc'* and other texts.

**prētori** (19.11) պրետորի, պրիտորի, substantive, gen. sing., nom. պրետոր/պրիտոր, from Lat. *praetorium*, found as a loan word also in Gr. as πραιτοριον. It is used in TD as an appellative for Apostle Peter, not attested elsewhere. I have therefore not translated this word but transcribed it as found in the Armenian form. During the late Roman period a *praetor* was a judiciary officer. This meaning seems to have reappeared in Byzantium in the ninth century and is attested also for the fourteenth century according to ODB.

[z] **Proton Armeniann** (10.3–4) զՊռոտոն Արմենիան(ն), adjective and substantive both in acc. sing. Both words are transcribed from the acc. sing. of the Greek πρῶτος (in this case it should be in fem. πρώτη) and Ἀρμενία and some mss add also the preposition z used with the accus. in Armenian. The toponym in question is First Armenia.

**přtay papays** (19.1–2) պռտայ պապայս, պռոտայ պապս, պռտապապոյս, adjective and substantive, used as a noun, nom. sing., a corruption of Gr. πρῶτοπαπᾶς, intending the highest, the first priest, the pope. Shirinian 2003, 85.

**sanjxac'n** (16.6) սանջախացն, սանճախացն, substantive, gen. pl., nom. սանջախ/սանճախ, Turkish, *sanjaq* meaning flag, banner. Cfr HAB and NBH.

**sant'(en)ēs** (14.10) սանթէս, սանթենէս, սանթանէս, substantive, abl. sing., nom. \*սանթ(էս) (?). Most likely from Old French *saint*. Not found in dictionaries.

**signayawk'** (8.10) սիգնայաւք, սիզնայաւք, substantive, instr. pl., nominative: սիզնա, found also as սիզնա. From Lat. *signum*, used also in the Armenian translation of *Vita Silvestri*, as well as MX. Flag, standard, banner. Cfr HAB and NBH.

- sinklitosawk'** (6.3) սինկլիտոսաւք, սինկլիտոսօք, սինկլէտոսօք, substantive, instr. pl., nom. սինկլիտոս/սինկլիտոս, from Gr. σύνκλητος—**senator**, this word is commonly used in other Armenian texts, including the translation of *Vita Silvestri*, MX, etc. Cfr HAB and NBH.
- siwnhodosis** (25.3) [h] սիւնհոդոսիս, սիւնհոդոսիս, substantive, loc. sing., nominative: սիւնհոդոս, Gr. σύνοδος, a **great church council, a synod**. This is a commonly used word in various Armenian sources according to NBH.
- slehic'** (9.17) սլէհից, substantive, gen. pl., nominative: սլէհ, from Arabic *silāh*, arm. Cfr HAB and NBH.
- tamužel** (21.18) դամուժել/տամուժել, used as a qualifier (an adj.) for “ladies” and not declined, according to HAB from Old French damoiselle, Ital. damicella, damigella. TD implies this meaning, a **lady/girl of noble birth**.
- t'iwrakēs** (13.11) թիւրակէս/թիւրակէզ, substantive, acc. sing., same in nom., from Gr. ἡ θηρεϊακή, **anti dote, anti-poison**.
- tpazionawk'** (8.9–10) տպազինաւք, substantive, instr. pl., nom. տպազին, from Gr. τοπάζιον, Lat. topazium., a **precious stone, topazolite**. The word is used in the translation of the Bible and other Armenian sources as well, according to HAB and NBH.
- velendi ara(n)c'n** (16.7) վէղենդի արացն, վաղինդահացն, վէղենդարացն, possibly one lemma, a substantive in gen. pl. It is not clear whether to read this as one word or two words. HAB suggests as nom. sing. վէղենդիար and supposes this word to be a corruption of Gr. σιλεντιάριος, a Byzantine court official, and considers that the Lat. *valentior* is only coincidentally similar.
- xrsukep'alawk'** (8.10) խոսուկէֆաւաւք, խոսուկէֆալօք, խոսուկէֆադօք, խոսուկէֆալլօք, adjective, instr. pl. According to HAB from Gr. χρυσοκέφαλος, composed of χρυσός and κεφαλή, thus **golden-headed**. Shirinian 2003, 85 suggests that the second element in the composite word is φάλος, a rare word ‘usually describing the peak of the Helmet of Homeric heroes’. Although both translations (golden-headed, or helmets with golden peaks) would fit the context, given that it is an enumeration of honourable military insignia bestowed by Constantine to Trdat, I am more inclined to agree with HAB, since as Shirinian notes φάλος is a rare word and we have no proof that the author of TD was so well-versed in Homer to have invented an Armenian composite word from a rare Greek word, even though this is not impossible. Thus, I have translated it as: **golden-headed**.



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